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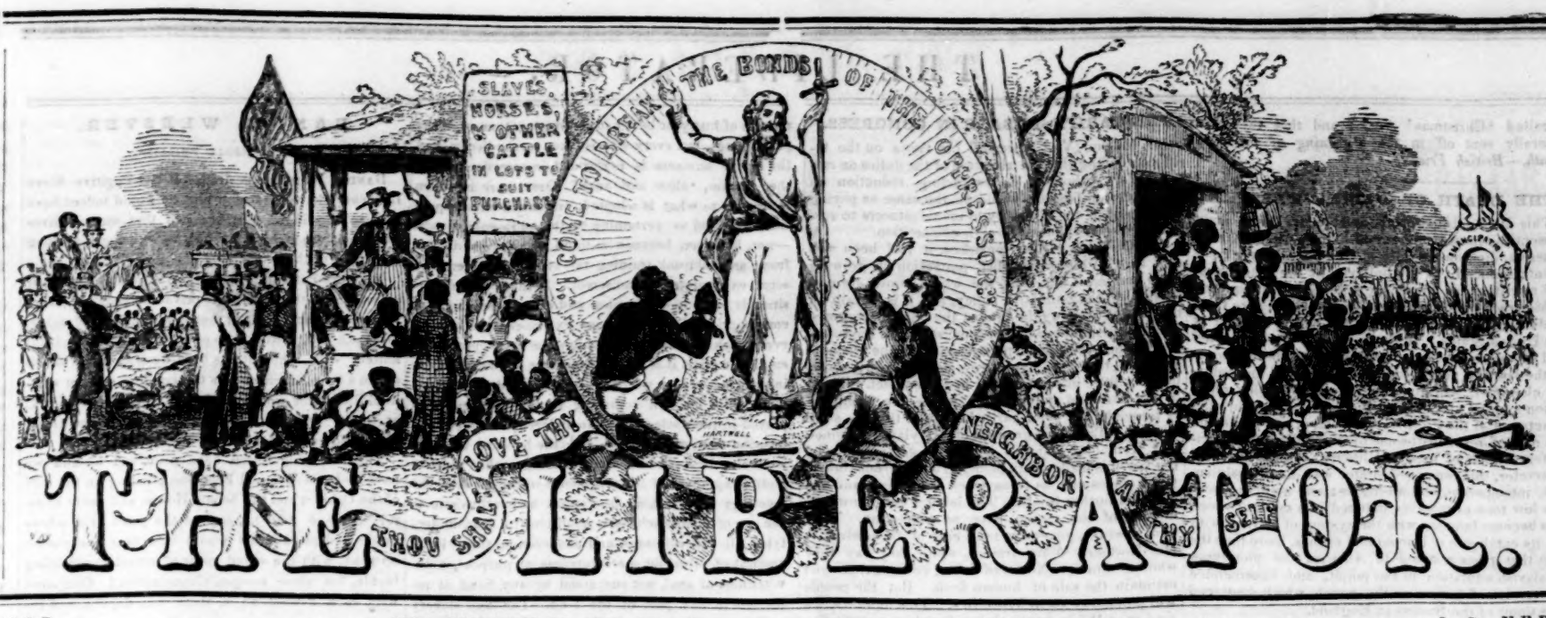


NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

☞ 'Yes! it cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for slaves—for articles of merchandize, under the name of persons. . . To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress, and thereby to make the PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR. OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

VOL. XXII. NO. 52. BOSTON, MASS., FRIDAY, DECEMBER 24, 1852. WHOLE NO. 1144.

## Refuge of Oppression.

From the New York Observer.

EARL SHAFTESBURY'S LETTER.

THE WOMEN OF ENGLAND TO THE WOMEN OF AMERICA.

The Earl of Shaftesbury has a letter in the London Times, in which he says:

'Sir: I request you to insert in your paper this letter, and a copy of the proposed address which accompanies it. It is with very great reluctance that I put myself forward, and venture to suggest a course of proceedings to my fair fellow-subjects, but I am compelled to do so by a feeling almost irresistible, a feeling in which they and many others will, I am sure, participate. In the days in which we live, more is to be permanently effected by public opinion, and by appeals to the great sympathies of mankind, than by any or by statute laws. If this, or some such address, be undertaken by local committees, enriched by many signatures, and then transmitted to America, it would not fail, under God's blessing, to produce a deep and fruitful impression.'

Instead of copying the Earl's address, we have taken the liberty of substituting England for America, and English laborers for African slaves, and then of reversing the address, on the principle of our Saviour's rebuke, when he said, 'Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, Let me pull the mote out of thine eye; and, behold, a beam is in thine own eye!—*Eds. Obs.*

THE MISERABLE POOR OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

*To Affectionate and Christian Address of many Thousands of the Women of America, to their Sisters, the Women of England.*

A common origin, a common faith, and, we sincerely believe, a common cause, urge us at the present moment to address you on the subject of that system of *white* slavery which prevails so extensively, and with such frightful results, in your enlightened and Christian country.

We will not dwell on the ordinary topics, on the progress of civilization, on the advance of freedom everywhere, on the rights and requirements of the nineteenth century—but we appeal to you very seriously to reflect, and to ask counsel of God, how far such a state of things is in accordance with his Holy Word, the inalienable rights of immortal souls, and the pure and merciful spirit of the Christian religion.

We do not shut our eyes to the difficulties, nay, the dangers, that would beset the immediate change of that long-established system; we see and admit the necessity of preparation for so great an event; but, in speaking of indispensable preliminaries, we cannot be silent on those customs of your country which, in direct contravention of God's own law, 'instituted in the time of man's innocency,' debase the sanctity of marriage, with all its joys, rights and obligations; which separates families by the ocean, and dooms multitudes to a life of penury, and many to death by disease and starvation. Nor can we be silent on that awful system which, either by statute or by custom, interdicts to any race of men, or any portion of the human family, education in the truths of the Gospel, or the ordinances of Christianity.

A remedy applied to these two evils alone would commence the amelioration of this sad condition. We appeal, then, to you as sisters, as wives, and as mothers, to raise your voices to Parliament and your Royal Mistress, and your prayers to God, for the removal of this affliction from the Christian world. We do not say these things in a spirit of self-complacency, as though our nation were free from the guilt it perceives in others. We acknowledge with grief and shame our own national sins, and especially do we deplore the existence of slavery in our happy country. But, from what we learn by your own newspapers and friends who visit England and Ireland, and the specimens of debased humanity that come to our shores from yours, we are certain that the slaves of our Southern States are far more virtuous, intelligent and happy, than the wretched laboring classes in Ireland and in the cities of England. Mr. Mayhew, one of your most popular writers, has detailed a state of morals and misery among the London poor, that has no parallel in our country, even among our slaves. While, therefore, it is our earnest prayer that God will speedily prepare the way for the removal of slavery from this land of liberty, we do implore you, by all the motives that can rouse the human soul, to exert yourselves to give food and education to our starving, ignorant and degraded white brethren and sisters, who are wandering houseless in Ireland, and perishing at your palace gates in England.

From the Boston Morning Post.

APPEAL TO THE PHILANTHROPIC!

*Ladies of Boston!*—The arrival of the steamer Arctic brings us the gratifying intelligence that her grace, the Duchess of Sutherland, has called a meeting of the ladies of England to adresss to the ladies of the United States, a petition for the abolition of slavery within their borders. As Boston has not only for a long time been known as the Athens of America, but has always been foremost in all enterprises, benevolent, transcendental, and enthusiastic, in the promotion of which ladies could take a part, after consultation with some of my neighbors, I have decided to ask your attendance at a meeting at my house, on Monday, the 27th day of December current, at 11 o'clock, A. M., for the purpose of acknowledging our gratitude to her grace and our sisters of England, for their wise and comprehensive action in behalf of a suffering class of the people of this continent; and, also, for the purpose of evincing a similar interest in the institutions of England, by uniting in a petition to the ladies of that country for the abolition of the right of primogeniture there.—As my dwelling is unfortunately not so extensive as Faneuil House, which has already become noted for the liberality with which its beautiful and illustrious mistress has lent its wide saloons and beautiful picture gallery for charitable concerts, and similar purposes, in case the number convened at my house should be more than can be accommodated, I propose to ask Moses Kimball, Esq., for the loan of his large hall at the Museum, to which we can, in such event, adjourn.

HARRIET HANCOCK, 203 Chesnut Street.

☞ The following is a sufficient commentary on the above sneering articles from the *Post* and *Observer*.

'HORSES, SLAVES, AND OTHER CATTLE.'

For fear the following advertisement will not get a sufficient circulation in the Southern papers, in which it has been inserted by order, we give it a place in our columns without charge:—

*Important Sale of Negroes, Mules, etc., on the 27th day of April next.*

The undersigned, having nearly completed their contract on the South Carolina railroad, will positively sell, without reserve, on Tuesday, the 27th day of April next, at Aiken, South Carolina, to the highest bidder, 130 negroes, 85 mules, 3 horses, 90 carts and harness, 25 wheelbarrows, 190 shovels, railroad plows, picks, blacksmiths', carpenters' and wheelwright's tools, &c. &c.

The negroes are, beyond doubt, the likeliest gang, for their number, ever offered in any market; consisting almost entirely of young fellows, from the age of 21 to 30 years, some few boys from 12 to 16 years of age, and four women.

Among the fellows are first rate blacksmiths, carpenters, coopers, brick-moulders, wheelwrights, and wagoners. Among the women, one excellent weaver and sempstress, another one a good cook.

All the above negroes are well trained and disciplined for rail and plank road working, (having just completed a splendid piece of work at Aiken, S. C., under the management of a gentleman of very superior ability and experience, and well calculated to train them,) which makes them more valuable than untrained hands, to which we would respectfully beg leave to call the attention of those engaged in such enterprises.

The mules are all stout, young, select, and in fine order. The carts were gotten up by one of the best manufacturers in the State—iron axles, and not much injured by use.

We deem it unnecessary to say more, as the property will show for itself.

Terms, cash.

Aiken, S. C., immediately on the railroad, 16 miles from Hamburg. J. B. SPROULL & CO.

THE 'PREACHER' ABROAD.

A late number of the New Orleans *Picayune* contains the following advertisement, which in itself furnishes evidence enough of the enormities of slavery to sicken the heart:—

TWENTY DOLLARS REWARD. Ran away from the plantation of the undersigned, the negro man Shadrach, a preacher, 5 feet 9 inches high, about 40 years old, but looking not over 28; stamped M. B. on the breast, and having both small toes cut off. He is of a very dark complexion, with eyes small but bright, and a look quite insolent. He dresses good, and was arrested as a runaway at Donaldsonville some three years ago. The above reward will be paid for his arrest by addressing Messrs. Armant, Brothers, St. James parish, or A. Miltenberger & Co., 30 Carondelet st.

From the Christian Inquirer.

THE CHURCH TERMAGANT.

We have read lately, more in sorrow than in anger, a sermon on Rev. Theodore Parker and Reform, which was delivered in that gentleman's own pulpit, by one of his admirers. It is unique in homiletic literature, being in fact an entire eulogy upon the regular occupant of the pulpit. It reminds us of the funeral sermon prepared by the eccentric Rev. Thomas Williams for the celebrated Dr. Emmons, in anticipation of his death. Mr. Williams asked and obtained permission of Dr. Emmons to read the sermon to him for revision, and the Doctor stood the doctrinal part very well; but whenever a strong eulogium on his worth occurred, he would exclaim, 'Now, Mr. Williams! how can you say so much?' Whereupon Mr. Williams would say, 'My dear Dr. Emmons, you know you are supposed to be dead now, and can't say a word.' We have too high an idea of Mr. Parker's decent taste to suppose that this sermon was ever read to him, or he would have insisted upon not being dead, or treated as such. Such snappish, denunciatory, assuming words disgrace any Christian pulpit, and partake of the most offensive qualities of the new Pharisaism that has been springing up among a class of boasted philanthropists, who seem to be dainty amateurs at the business, and zealous chiefly in the spitefulness of their words. The Church Termagant is now fairly inaugurated, and the eulogist of the Melodeon, who is capable of so much better things, has won the place of file-leader among its shrill-voiced scolds.

We have no quarrel with any man for admiring Mr. Parker; for all men have their liberty of opinion; and there has been for hundreds of years a considerable class of persons, some of them very pure and high-minded people, who have held in substance the same views of religion. Our chief objection to the discourse before us, and the whole school to which it belongs, is its assuming, rancorous temper; its pettish assumption of all merit to its own partisans, and consigning to obloquy all not of its own feather. The ministry of this style of reform has much power in its chief advocate, yet little of the power of tenderness and humility; little trace of that contrition for sin which has been deemed a part of every profound Christian experience.

The sermon before us has some rhetorical smartness, some well-turned sentences, but its chief interest is in its impudence and attempt at severity.—The preacher denounces a set of men who have been and who would still be ready to befriend him, and he rejoices in the professional disappointments of neighbors who have been faithful, laborious Christian men, and who, in common with most Boston ministers, have suffered by the great migration of their parishioners from the city to the country. All men have their troubles; and we have little respect for the spirit that exults over a neighbor's misfortunes, or glorifies its own little triumphs. For an educated, accomplished man, who has known and done the duties of a Christian minister, to preach and publish such a sermon, is one of the saddest developments of the semi-barbarism of the new philanthropism which uses as much of the guillotine as its vocabulary and modern manners allow.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

In a few short months, this distinguished patriot and able Chief Magistrate will retire from the elevated position he now so worthily fills, but his able administration of the government will long be referred to with pride and gratification by the people.—The New Orleans *Bulletin*, in an article connected with this subject, says:

'When Millard Fillmore is forgotten by the American people, we shall have fallen upon evil times. But he will never be forgotten by the brave, the patriotic, the true. The foundations of his fame are laid in honor, patriotism, and truth, and can never be shaken. As long as purity of purpose; self-sacrificing devotion to country, the whole Union, and nothing but the Union; enlarged and prudent statesmanship; and absorbing desire to vindicate the honor and interests of the country in all intercourse with foreign nations; sagacious and far-seeing recommendations to Congress in regard to internal policy; the expression of an inflexible determination to maintain the compromises of the Constitution, and execute the laws under the same; a fervid anxiety to unite all sections in bonds of fraternal affection, and to draw closer the ties which bind us together—ties cemented by and baptized in the blood of our revolutionary ancestors—so long, we say, as such deeds have an abiding-place in the hearts of the freemen of this glorious land, the name of Millard Fillmore will be held in affectionate, undying remembrance.'—*N. Y. Christian Inquirer.*

## Selections.

From the New York Evening Post.

A DIFFERENCE, AND THE CAUSE OF IT.

A Virginia paper, discussing the industrial prospects of the Southern States, remarks as follows:—

'For a long time after the organization of our government, the principal trade and commerce of the country was carried on by the South. Charleston and Norfolk were the great *entrepots*, and their harbors were crowded with shipping, when those of Boston, Philadelphia and New York were comparatively empty. But since the war of 1812, the South has been declining in comparative strength, until the picture is now entirely reversed. New York, Philadelphia and Boston are now the grand marts of the country, whilst Charleston and Norfolk have scarcely any foreign trade to boast of.

It is not our purpose, even if we had the ability to do so, to enter into an investigation of the various causes which have produced this result. The fact is sufficiently notorious, that, as regards commercial progress, the South is very far inferior to the North. We have always believed that it was her own fault that she was thus outstripped. Her people have always had, as they still have, it in their power to enjoy a superior position in the contest. Her natural resources are incomparably superior to those of her great rival. The materials for sustaining and aggrandizing herself are boundless.

If she had only been true to her own interests, and, from the commencement, had devoted her energies, in the proper spirit, to the prosecution of works within her own borders, for the development of her means—if she had resolutely and assiduously contended for the preservation and enlargement of the supremacy she once enjoyed, in the way she ought to have done, her condition at the present time would have been one of pre-eminent prosperity. But, instead of adopting a policy which was obviously calculated to enrich and strengthen her, she folded her arms, suffered the golden opportunity to pass, and by this miserable course brought upon herself the mortifying and humiliating commercial inferiority which she now exhibits. Far different was the course of the North.

Enterprise, industry, skill—every thing that could tend to advance *her* welfare, and increase *her* power—was systematically done; and by vigorous and unrelaxed efforts, she has elevated herself to the proud ascendancy to which she aspired. Who can blame her for so doing? The South could have much more easily done the same thing with equal success. She chose, however, not to do so, and the fruit of her indolence and neglect is visible in the vast enrichment of Northern communities at her expense. The merchant princes of the land hold their sway in Northern palaces. Southern traders and planters have built up the overshadowing influences which are there enthroned.'

Is it natural, wilful, or judicial blindness, that prevents these Southern writers from seeing the real cause of the difference in the commercial prosperity of the North and South? It is as plain as the nose on the late Duke of Wellington's portraits, in *Punch*, to all the rest of the world, and yet the people who are the most interested in knowing the truth, do not, or will not, or pretend not, to see it—all the while that they are making the most bitter outcries in regard to its effects.

There is, in one of the old temperance tales, the character of a man, who is described as first losing his friends, at which he is greatly mortified and surprised; he then loses his money, at which he is even more surprised; and he finally loses his health, so that he is completely ruined, when his surprise knows no bounds. His lamentations become vociferous, and he berates fortune, as the malignant enemy who delights in his unhappiness, and has taken pains to visit him with all manner of affliction. But, in the midst of his complaints, a crusty bystander suggests that cruel fortune has had nothing to do with the event, which might more easily be traced to an enemy the poor victim had been in the habit every day of putting into his mouth. Thereupon, his rage became excessive, and he insisted that he had 'never taken a drop too much in his life; besides, it was notorious that drink was good for the wholesome.'

This is pretty much the case with our southern reasoners. They point to the gradual decay of their commerce, and bewail it; but when any one tells them that they have a constitutional disease which produces it, they incontinently get angry, and fall to calling hard names. We have no doubt that the representation of the more rapid growth of the North, made by the Virginia print, is true. We believe that the South is inferior to the North, in enterprise, skill and industry, while she has natural advantages equal to those of the North, if not superior; but we can assign an intelligent and adequate reason for these phenomena, which our Virginia contemporary is unable or afraid to do. We can point him to that great social and political injustice, which hangs like a nightmare upon the energies of the South, and which he so cautiously winks out of sight.

It is in vain for the South to hope to enter into commercial competition with the North, so long as slavery remains one of its cherished institutions. All history shows, as well as the experience of the United States, that slavery can be rendered profitable in agricultural labor only, and that as soon as manufacturing and other pursuits are introduced, it retires. It is a species of labor adapted to the simplest processes merely, and which shrinks from complicated and extensive operations. Nor can slaves, as a general thing, be employed on ships, or in the management of railroads, or in any tasks which separate them for any length of time from the immediate eye of the overseer.

Commercial prosperity, during the middle ages, sprung from political and social freedom, and the whole drift of human experience since has gone to show that it cannot subsist without it. On the continent of Europe, one of the first things that the traveller notes, is the superior thrift and activity of those nations under constitutional government, compared with those under despotic. The latter are stagnant, sterile, and paralyzed, while the former are alive with the bustle of trade.

In Spain, they are still discussing the propriety of erecting railroads; there are but three or four railroads in Italy; there is but one in Austria, and that built by the government, while the only two in Russia are also the work of the government; but in France, Germany and England, where the enterprise of the people has some chance, and the people themselves have an interest in the result, all these modern improvements are prosecuted with an energy almost equal to that of the United States.

A similar scene is presented by the map of our own country; New England, New York, Ohio, and the other free States, are literally covered with internal communications of all kinds, with every facility to rapid and cheap production; but as you move South, you come to the lumbering old stage coach, wretched roads, and the pack saddle. Despotism there, like despotism in Europe, works like a blight upon hope and activity.

From the Boston Traveller.

THE EMPIRE OF HAITI.

ITS CLAIMS TO THE FAVORABLE NOTICE OF AMERICANS, AND ESPECIALLY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

BOSTON, Oct. 28, 1852.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—In accordance with your kind invitation to correspond with you, I commence with the subject which is now so fairly before the American people—the recognition of Haitian independence by 'THE PEOPLE' of the United States. Not that I propose to discuss the question in its diversified bearings, but to give some facts in my own personal experience, derived from a residence of near six years at the capital of the empire. It is already known, or ought to be, by the American people, that the Haitians have, for near fifty years, *governed themselves*, and 'taken care of themselves,' in quite as enlightened a way as any nation on the continent of America, south of the United States. It can also be demonstrated that in the liberality of their treatment of foreigners, they have equalled not only the governments of South America, but those of Continental Europe, in point of religious toleration, liberty of commerce, and in every other point, except their refusal to admit whites (*les blancs*) to the privileges of citizenship—a prudential measure, which is far from proving them incapable of 'taking care of themselves.' It is a notorious fact that, in protestant Germany, the Baptists are, at this time, treated with much greater intolerance than they ever have been in Roman Catholic Haiti. Of the importance of the commerce of Haiti to the American people, it is quite unnecessary for me to say a word. Forty-eight gentlemen of Boston, representing property to the value of near thirty millions of dollars, have recently spoken with sufficient clearness on this point. I will limit myself to a few facts, bearing upon the maintenance of order and the character of the present administration. I hesitate not to say that I believe there has been the past six years, less murder, less robbery, and less incendiarism at Port-au-Prince, than in any city, of the same size, and during the same period, in the United States. During this whole period, and even longer, there has been but one fire at that city of thirty thousand inhabitants! Where can a parallel case be found in the United States? I have travelled in the country at all hours of the day and night, 'o'er mountain heights and in valleys low,' in lonely forests and amid cultivated fields, and have never been treated with disrespect by the coarsest peasant or the rudest mountaineer.

In these journeys, I have never been refused a night's lodging at the poorest cabin, where from necessity or convenience I chose to stop. And when I have called for the bill of fare, I am almost universally answered by the expression, 'Just what you choose to give,' (*Ce que vous voulez me donnez*, or, in the simple patois of the paysan, ca ou voulez bailler moi.) And although it is the land of the old buccaneers, and where the example of foreigners has exhibited more of violence and fraud than of gentleness and honesty, still from *Tiburon* to *Samana*, and from *Jacmel* to *Cape Haytien*, I know of not a single cove where a ship may not enter, nor a single mountain fastness where a traveller may not pass with safety from robbers. And notwithstanding all that American editors have said of the 'bloody reign of Soulouque,' I am able to say, from my own personal knowledge, that His Majesty FAUSTIN THE FIRST did not come to the head of the government by any of his own ambitious efforts. So quietly had he always lived, and with such regularity had he always fulfilled his duties as simple *commandant* at l'Arcahaie, that when he was announced to the people, there was almost an universal inquiry among the masses, except in his own *Commune*, Who is Soulouque? He was elevated to that position by a constitutional vote of the Senate, in that solemn and very critical moment when the much beloved RICHE laid a corpse in the *palais national*. I was informed that he even shed tears of surprise when his election was announced to him.

I was standing on the verandah of the palace, when the Senate, with the President elect, came out of their hall. Soulouque (as he was then called) seated himself with a circle of venerable generals, with whom he conversed in such a pleasing and yet dignified manner, that I said to the American gentleman at my side, 'this is certainly about as interesting an appearing man as I have ever seen.' And I have as yet had no proof that the title of Emperor was one of his own seeking. A petition was circulated for a few days in Port-au-Prince, asking the Senate to confer upon his excellency Soulouque, *President d'Haiti*, the title of Emperor. This the Senate did in a very peaceful manner, and the act was not followed by any demonstrations of discontent on the part of the people. Where can a parallel case be found in Europe? Will Louis Napoleon, who is now *straining so hard* to follow in the steps of this, his illustrious predecessor, succeed as well? Last April, I saw him put on his crown with quiet dignity, surrounded by many thousands of the Haitians, in an immense temporary edifice, very tastefully arranged, erected for the occasion at the *Champ de Mars*. And I would ask those who are pleased to sneer at the '*black Emperor*,' wherein he is a sinner above the Sovereigns of Europe, with whom the United States has treaties of amity and commerce?

But as this article is already lengthy, I will close by answering the question, which may arise in some minds: why a missionary should meddle with matters of this nature? There are two very good reasons. First: like the merchants who ask that their commerce may be protected by treaty stipulations, I consider that the very absurd position of the United States, in refusing to acknowledge the independence of Haiti, is calculated to embarrass the benevolent efforts of American missionaries, as well as the commerce of American merchants. On this account, I consider that the American churches will be recreant, if Congress is not inundated with petitions, *demanding* immediate efforts for the establishment of treaty stipulations with Haiti. My second reason is, that, as a Christian minister, I feel bound to believe that 'God is no respecter of persons.'

Yours, &c.,

W. L. JUDD.

Missionary of the Am. Bap. Free Mission Society at Port-au-Prince.

From the Philadelphia Tribune of the People.

PENNSYLVANIA HALL.

The brief existence and wanton destruction of this building is a part, and a very dark part, of the history of Philadelphia.

The wish to secure Southern trade for our merchants and manufacturers, and Southern patronage to our medical schools, boarding houses and hotels, led to the infliction of this everlasting disgrace upon our city. The means resorted to were—to excite the morbid prejudice of the rabble against any thing like association, on terms of equality, between individuals of different colors.

So long as the colored man *carried* the brick, and the white man *laid* them, or the colored man drove the horses whilst the white gentleman or lady sat on the next seat of the carriage or the same with him, all right. The colored barber might take our choicest bucks and stuff the nabobs by the nose, and turn their heads about at his pleasure, as though they were heads of cabbage—many of them being in fact of less value than that esculent—and all was proper enough; but let a colored woman walk by the side of a white woman, and converse with her, or a colored man take familiarly the arm of a white friend as an equal, and sit on the same sofa with him, heavens! what insolence! what intolerable assurance and distressing propinquity! The sovereign mob was invoked to put a stop to the abominable spectacle of men and women recognising a fellow-being in one possessed of a skin not colored like their own, and the mob responded to the call, as they have since done to other calls for the work of destruction, and people, that the Haitians have, for near fifty years, *governed themselves*, and 'taken care of themselves,' in quite as enlightened a way as any nation on the continent of America, south of the United States. It can also be demonstrated that in the liberality of their treatment of foreigners, they have equalled not only the governments of South America, but those of Continental Europe, in point of religious toleration, liberty of commerce, and in every other point, except their refusal to admit whites (*les blancs*) to the privileges of citizenship—a prudential measure, which is far from proving them incapable of 'taking care of themselves.' It is a notorious fact that, in protestant Germany, the Baptists are, at this time, treated with much greater intolerance than they ever have been in Roman Catholic Haiti. Of the importance of the commerce of Haiti to the American people, it is quite unnecessary for me to say a word. Forty-eight gentlemen of Boston, representing property to the value of near thirty millions of dollars, have recently spoken with sufficient clearness on this point. I will limit myself to a few facts, bearing upon the maintenance of order and the character of the present administration. I hesitate not to say that I believe there has been the past six years, less murder, less robbery, and less incendiarism at Port-au-Prince, than in any city, of the same size, and during the same period, in the United States. During this whole period, and even longer, there has been but one fire at that city of thirty thousand inhabitants! Where can a parallel case be found in the United States? I have travelled in the country at all hours of the day and night, 'o'er mountain heights and in valleys low,' in lonely forests and amid cultivated fields, and have never been treated with disrespect by the coarsest peasant or the rudest mountaineer.

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But as this article is already lengthy, I will close by answering the question, which may arise in some minds: why a missionary should meddle with matters of this nature? There are two very good reasons. First: like the merchants who ask that their commerce may be protected by treaty stipulations, I consider that the very absurd position of the United States, in refusing to acknowledge the independence of Haiti, is calculated to embarrass the benevolent efforts of American missionaries, as well as the commerce of American merchants. On this account, I consider that the American churches will be recreant, if Congress is not inundated with petitions, *demanding* immediate efforts for the establishment of treaty stipulations with Haiti. My second reason is, that, as a Christian minister, I feel bound to believe that 'God is no respecter of persons.'

Yours, &c.,

W. L. JUDD.

Missionary of the Am. Bap. Free Mission Society at Port-au-Prince.

From the Philadelphia Tribune of the People.

PENNSYLVANIA HALL.

The brief existence and wanton destruction of this building is a part, and a very dark part, of the history of Philadelphia.

The wish to secure Southern trade for our merchants and manufacturers, and Southern patronage to our medical schools, boarding houses and hotels, led to the infliction of this everlasting disgrace upon our city. The means resorted to were—to excite the morbid prejudice of the rabble against any thing like association, on terms of equality, between individuals of different colors.

So long as the colored man *carried* the brick, and the white man *laid* them, or the colored man drove the horses whilst the white gentleman or lady sat on the next seat of the carriage or the same with him, all right. The colored barber might take our choicest bucks and stuff the nabobs by the nose, and turn their heads about at his pleasure, as though they were heads of cabbage—many of them being in fact of less value than that esculent—and all was proper enough; but let a colored woman walk by the side of a white woman, and converse with her, or a colored man take familiarly the arm of a white friend as an equal, and sit on the same sofa with him, heavens! what insolence! what intolerable assurance and distressing propinquity! The sovereign mob was invoked to put a stop to the abominable spectacle of men and women recognising a fellow-being in one possessed of a skin not colored like their own, and the mob responded to the call, as they have since done to other calls for the work of destruction, and people, that the Haitians have, for near fifty years, *governed themselves*, and 'taken care of themselves,' in quite as enlightened a way as any nation on the continent of America, south of the United States. It can also be demonstrated that in the liberality of their treatment of foreigners, they have equalled not only the governments of South America, but those of Continental Europe, in point of religious toleration, liberty of commerce, and in every other point, except their refusal to admit whites (*les blancs*) to the privileges of citizenship—a prudential measure, which is far from proving them incapable of 'taking care of themselves.' It is a notorious fact that, in protestant Germany, the Baptists are, at this time, treated with much greater intolerance than they ever have been in Roman Catholic Haiti. Of the importance of the commerce of Haiti to the American people, it is quite unnecessary for me to say a word. Forty-eight gentlemen of Boston, representing property to the value of near thirty millions of dollars, have recently spoken with sufficient clearness on this point. I will limit myself to a few facts, bearing upon the maintenance of order and the character of the present administration. I hesitate not to say that I believe there has been the past six years, less murder, less robbery, and less incendiarism at Port-au-Prince, than in any city, of the same size, and during the same period, in the United States. During this whole period, and even longer, there has been but one fire at that city of thirty thousand inhabitants! Where can a parallel case be found in the United States? I have travelled in the country at all hours of the day and night, 'o'er mountain heights and in valleys low,' in lonely forests and amid cultivated fields, and have never been treated with disrespect by the coarsest peasant or the rudest mountaineer.

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So long as the colored man *carried* the brick, and the white man *laid* them, or the colored man drove the horses whilst the white gentleman or lady sat on

And now, the Theatre is openly, where it has long been *actually; before and better than the Church.*

Let the terrible fact be told in thunder round the world. In the Play, the slaveholder declares boldly, '*Slavery is of the Devil.*' In most of the forty thousand ecclesiastical Theatres and Playhouses of our country, the ghostly performers solemnly say, *it is of God.* In the language of one large Presbytery, 'It is the Lord's doing, and marvellous in our eyes.'

Now we have got the Theatre *versus* the Church, on the question of slavery. The Theatre says it is of the Devil. The Church claims that it is of God. Let us wait patiently for the verdict. The question is before a jury composed of the civilized world.

Of the manner of the piece and of the performance, I need not now speak. It was Uncle Tom's Cabin, on the stage, and before one of the largest and best looking audiences I ever saw in any theatre. And five hundred people bought tickets in the forenoon for *secured seats, at double price*,—and excepting those seats, the house was almost literally crammed, nearly an hour before the rising of the curtain. And the most radical sentiments, together with the shooting dead of the kidnappers in pursuit of 'George and Eliza,' were most loudly applauded;—and one thing more, the Play will, doubtless, from present appearances, be a fortune in the pocket of the proprietor of the museum. *Vive la agitation!*

Yours, as always,

PARKER PILLSBURY.

THE DISCUSSION.

BY THE LATE NATHANIEL P. ROGERS.

The discussion goes on. It pervades, it possesses, it 'agitates' the land. It must be stopped, or slavery dies, and the colored man has his liberty and his rights, and Colonization is superseded. Can it not be stopped? Cannot the doctors, the editors, the 'property and standing,' the legislatures, Congress, the mob, Mr. Gurley, somebody or other, some power or other, the governors, his honor the Chief Justice Lynch; cannot any body, or every body united, put down this discussion? Alas for the 'peculiar institution'! it cannot be done. The club of Hercules could not strike it down; it is as impalpable to the brute blow as the stately ghost of 'buried Denmark' was to the 'partisan' of Marcellus. It cannot be stopped or checked. It is unrestrainable as the viewless winds, or the steeds of Apollo. You hear it every where. The atmosphere is rife with it. 'Abolition,' 'immediate,' 'compensation,' 'amalgamation,' 'inferior,' 'equal,' 'inalienable,' 'RIGHTS,' 'the Bible,' 'of one blood,' 'West Indies,' 'mobs,' 'arson,' 'petition,' 'gag-law,' 'John Quincy Adams,' 'GARRISON.' These are the words, and as familiar as household ph

From the New York Evangelist.

## NEW ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT.

A remarkable movement has been commenced in England, under the auspices of the highest personages and names in the kingdom, to bring to bear a new influence for the abolition of slavery in this country. The class from which the movement takes its spring, is one from which we are to expect just and temperate measures, and a wise abstinence from any attempts which do not fall legitimately and honorably within their sphere. It is a class, moreover, which wields in England, and will not fail to wield here, a powerful influence; and as it seems to bid fair to draw within its scope nearly all the worth and culture of the kingdom, we cannot be indifferent to the efforts which shall be put forth from so formidable a source. As it now appears, it seems worthy to be hailed with confidence and joy by all who long for the removal of this greatest of evils.

The papers by the *Arctic* announce that on Friday evening, 26th ult. a meeting of 'the Ladies of England' was convened by the Duchess of Sutherland, at Stafford House, for the purpose of addressing a memorial to the ladies of the United States, calling on them to use their influence for the abolition of negro slavery. The names of the ladies present, or who signified their concurrence with the meeting, were the Duchesses of Sutherland, Bedford, Argyle; Dowager of Beaufort; Countesses of Derby, Carlisle, Shaftesbury, Litchfield; Viscountesses Palmerston, Melbourne; Ladies Constance Grosvenor, Dover, Cowley, Ruthven, Belhaven, Trevelyan, Parke, Hatherton, Blantyre, Dufferin, Easthope, Paxton, Kaye, Shuttleworth, Buxton, Inglis, Mayoress; Mesdames Charles Dickens, Lyon Playfair, Alfred Tennyson, Mary Howitt, Charles Knight, Murray, Macaulay, Rowland Hill, with others of lesser position.

The address was read by the Duchess of Sutherland, and is as follows: we need not commend it to the candid and Christian consideration of our readers:

'*The Affectionate and Christian Address of many Thousands of the Women of England, to their Sisters, the Women of the United States of America.*

'A common origin, a common faith, and we sincerely believe, a common cause, urge us, at the present moment, to address you on the subject of that system of negro slavery which still prevails so extensively, and, even under kindly disposed masters, with such frightful results, in many of the vast regions of the Western world.

We will not dwell on the ordinary topics, on the progress of civilization, on the advance of freedom everywhere, on the rights and requirements of the nineteenth century—but we appeal to you very seriously to reflect, and to ask counsel of God, how far such a state of things is in accordance with his Holy Word, the inalienable rights of immortal souls, and the pure and merciful spirit of the Christian religion.

We do not shut our eyes to the difficulties, nay, the dangers, that would beset the immediate abolition of that long-established system; we see and admit the necessity of preparation for so great an event; but, in speaking of indispensable preliminaries, we cannot be silent on those laws of your country which, in direct contravention of God's own law, 'instituted in the time of man's innocency,' deny, in effect, to the slave, the sanctity of marriage, with all its joys, rights and obligations; which separates, at the will of the master, the wife from the husband, and the children from the parents. Nor can we be silent on that awful system which, either by statute or by custom, interdicts to any race of men, or any portion of the human family, education in the truths of the Gospel, or the ordinances of Christianity.

A remedy applied to these two evils alone would commence the amelioration of this sad condition. We appeal, then, to you as sisters, as wives, and as mothers, to raise your voices to your fellow-citizens, and your prayers to God, for the removal of this affliction from the Christian world. We do not say these things in a spirit of self-complacency, as though our nation were free from the guilt it perceives in others.

We acknowledge that our forefathers introduced, nay, compelled the adoption of slavery in those mighty colonies. We humbly confess it before Almighty God; and it is because we so deeply feel, and so unfeignedly avow our own complicity, that we now venture to implore your aid to wipe away our common crime and our common dishonor.

There are many reasons why this address should be presented rather by the women than by the men of England. We shall not be suspected of any political motives: all will readily admit that the state of things to which we allude is one peculiarly distressing to our sex, and thus our friendly and earnest interposition will be ascribed altogether to domestic, and in no respect to national feelings. We shall propose to form a committee for the purpose of collecting signatures to the address, and of transmitting it, when complete, to the United States. As a general committee would be too large for the transaction of the daily business, we shall propose a sub-committee, to report from time to time to the general committee: but there is every reason to hope that the whole matter may be terminated in a short space of time. It only remains for me to acknowledge the kindness with which you have acceded to my request in attending here this day. I hope and believe that our effort, under God's blessing, will not be without some happy results; but whether it succeeds, or whether it fail, no one will deny that we shall have made an attempt which had, both for its beginning and for its end, 'Glory to God in the highest; on earth peace; good will towards men.'

The memorial was then agreed to, and a sub-committee appointed.

It is stated also, that this meeting was the beginning of a wide and efficient organization; that a subscription was commenced, and an office of business opened—looking to ulterior movements.

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Our readers will doubtless observe with much pleasure the interest manifested by the Earl of SHAFTESBURY, and by some distinguished British ladies, including several of high rank, in the abolition of slavery in the United States of America. We think the course pursued by the Noble Earl, *in endeavoring to promote the welfare of the laboring class in our own country, and especially his efforts on behalf of young persons employed in factories*, render him a peculiarly fit person to advocate the claims of the injured and helpless victims of a far more ruthless oppression than any that has been witnessed in England in our time, and one far greater in extent than that which was swept from the British West Indies by the indignant voice of the British people in 1838—now fourteen years since. * * * But we not only object to the correctness of the statement that the slave is not fit for immediate freedom, which, it may be remembered, was conferred by the authorities of Antigua and Bermuda on the British slave with super-eminent success; but we protest against a statement, which may afford some shelter to the wretched blunder and inhumanity of a miscalled apprenticeship, terminated before the time originally fixed by the law, in consequence of the numerous and intolerable evils to which this semi or more than semi-slavery naturally and inevitably led. —*British and Foreign A. S. Reporter.*

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THE BOSTON BAZAAR.—The interest which this instrumentality for promoting the Anti-Slavery cause has long excited in this country, continues unabated. We have learned that contributions have been sent from the following places:—Edinburgh, £170; Glasgow, £160; Perth, £70; Dublin, £130. Large boxes have also been sent from Bristol, Leeds, and sundry other places. In the box from Edinburgh were enclosed contributions from many parts of England, namely, Penzance, Reading, Basingstoke, Liverpool, Birkenhead, Lancaster, Leeds, &c. From Bolton, in Lancashire, a box containing about £30 in value was sent. Among the articles was a doll, dressed as 'Topsy;' intended to stand in a conspicuous place in the Bazaar, and to sell copies of her 'Appeal,' which appeared in our last number. Many very interesting incidents have come to our knowledge, relative to some of the contributions, too numerous to detail; but the following we cannot withhold:—The inmates of the blind asylum in Edinburgh, on hearing of the opportunity, gladly availed themselves of it, and contributed of their own handy work to the cause of the Slave, to the amount of *four pounds*, besides *two pounds* in money! which may well awaken the inquiry in many minds —have *we*, according to our opportunities, *done what we could for this cause?* As usual, many declared they would have most willingly done something in behalf of the effort, had they only known in time; which induces us, for the information of such, to repeat, that contributions are sent from Edinburgh, Glasgow, &c., *every year*, to the Annual National Anti-Slavery Bazaar, held at Boston, U. S., in what called 'Christmas' week; and that they are generally sent off in the *beginning of the 11th month.*—*British Friend.*

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## THE DEATH OF DANIEL WEBSTER.

This distinguished orator and senator, by common consent the most eminent and highly gifted man in America, died on the 24th of October, of liver complaint; induced, as we believe, by the bitter grief and mortification which he suffered in consequence of his ignominious rejection by the Baltimore Convention, of the nomination for the next President of the United States. In the hope of being nominated and triumphantly elected to this dignity, he had, within the last few years, made shipwreck of his political character, had given all the weight of his reputation and the aid of his eloquence to procure the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law, and had made his name forever loathsome to all intelligent and consistent friends of impartial liberty. In his personal character, this renowned orator was notoriously venal, intemperate, and profligate; and nothing shows the low tone of morality induced in a country which has become familiar with the system of slavery, with all its catalogue of inseparable crimes, more than the fact that it has restored to America the prototypes of slavish adulation in the pulpit, and unprincipled perversion of justice on the bench, which disgraced the times of the Stuarts in England.

For example, take the following account of the death-bed of Mr. Webster, with a certificate of his religious character, as portrayed by the clergyman who preached his funeral sermon:—

'The Rev Mr. Alden, the parish minister, having read an appropriate passage from Scripture, delivered a feeling address, in the course of which he referred to several circumstances which occurred in the death-bed scene of the late statesman, in proof that he whose death they were lamenting had been a sublime illustration of the indwelling and abiding power of Christian faith 'One who knew him,' continued the clergyman, 'well remarked, "his whole life has been that of preparation." Those who knew him best could the most truly appreciate the lessons, both from his lips and examples, in teaching the sustaining power of the gospel. His last words, 'I still live,' they might interpret in a higher sense than that in which they were usually regarded. He had taught how to obtain the light of faith and the life to come.'

These gross mis-statements are going the round of English papers, and excite neither surprise nor disgust, except in the minds of a few. The ordinary reader could never guess that this eulogy was pronounced over the coffin of a man of vast but perverted talents, the self-dishonored victim of his own guilty ambition, whose life had been spent in squandering the rewards of his great genius in the gratification of the lowest propensities. It is terrible to see such genius so fallen, such mighty gifts so meanly and miserably misapplied.—*British A. S. Advocate.*

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## BRITISH ANTI-SLAVERY ADVOCATE.

We have read with increased satisfaction the second number of this publication, the commencement of which we noticed some weeks ago, as the organ of the living and active anti-slavery sentiment of England. Such a paper has long been needed to occupy just the position which this fills. The extent to which our cause has suffered, both abroad and at home, for want of such an organ in that field, it is impossible to estimate, but we have long hoped and waited for some person qualified for the work to begin it; and now that this hope is realized, our faith is quickened in the certainty of the happy results which we have anticipated from it. The depletion of the anti-slavery sentiment of England has been the mission of the British and Foreign Committee, and of their organ, the London *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. They seem to have regarded it as morbidly active, as a brain fever of a peculiarly dangerous type, and their course of treatment has been much like that of old time physicians to disorders of that nature, until there was reason to fear that its very life would be starved and drugged out of it. That the earnest, intelligent abolitionists of Great Britain had not long ago adopted toward the London Committee and their *Reporter* the Christian injunction, 'Let the dead bury their dead,' and established for themselves a medium of communication with the public, is to be regretted. Probably no one can feel this more deeply than themselves. Far better had it been for the cause of the American slave, far better for the progress of universal liberty, had no such Committee or paper been in existence for ten years past.

But without complaining of the past, we accept with thankfulness this movement of the present to supply its long-felt want. The promise given in its commencement is confirmed by its continuance.—The *Advocate* is conducted with much ability and excellent judgment, and displays not only a true appreciation of anti-slavery principles, but a thorough knowledge of the history and the condition of the cause, especially in this country, where its great battle is to be fought. Though its limits are as yet too narrow for the necessities of the cause, it condenses into that compass a great amount of interesting and instructive information. In style, it is clear and attractive, in principle uncompromising, and in spirit liberal and catholic. We welcome it again to its important position and beneficent work, with the fraternal greeting of the abolitionists of Pennsylvania. We give its conductors and supporters our heartiest God speed in their enterprise.—*Pennsylvania Freeman.*

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## ANTI-SLAVERY AGITATION.

The political agitation of the country is over for the present, and the noise and confusion of a heated contest have subsided. The machinery lately brought to bear upon parties for party purposes is laid aside, and the voices of the thousands of lecturers, and hundreds of thousands of 'documents' are silent as the grave. The *political* harvest is past and summer ended, but the slave and the country are not saved. Since, then, we are not again soon to act, as mere politicians can act—through the ballot box, and the political armor is laid aside, what course shall those who have enlisted under the banner of free soil, free speech and free men adopt during the interregnum of the political kingdom? If true men, we have enlisted during the war, and are at no more liberty to disband our forces than is an army of conquest after an undecisive battle. The trial at the ballot box, from time to time, shows only the comparative strength of the contending forces, and in no case can excuse us for relaxing our efforts in drumming up recruits.

How shall recruits be secured for 1856, or for any and all times? Of course, the free soil press will do its duty and keep its *readers* at their posts, but this of itself is not sufficient. Not one voter in a hundred ever sees a free soil paper, and can never be reached in that way. If the Northern States are to be enlightened upon this subject so as to secure our object in four years, some instrumentalities beside free soil journals will be absolutely necessary. A large proportion of the citizens in the country will never pay for light, but it must be poured in upon them without price. This, the press, as now conducted, cannot and will not do.

Free lectures and free documents, in our judgment, are mainly to be relied upon in this warfare. Let the truth be preached throughout the length and breadth of our land, without price to the unconverted. In order that this may be done, the elect and faithful must sustain the lecturers by liberal contributions. Here the question arises, who shall go for us and do this indispensable work of preaching the anti-slavery gospel to every creature? Our organization contemplates no such effort, and it is to be feared will do nothing, as such, in that direction. Fortunately, however, in this State lecturers are already furnished to our hands. The Mass. Anti-Slavery Society have in the field some of the most eloquent and impressive lecturers in the State, who will do as much as any voting abolitionist can do to form a correct public sentiment upon the institution of slavery.—The objections against these lecturers have disappeared. The fruitless war of 'old organization' and 'Liberty party' has come to an end, as the latter has withdrawn from the contest, and the former has directed its batteries against the common enemy.—The cry of harsh language against pro-slavery men and institutions is drowned in applause for Mann and Giddings, who, in this respect, have out Garrisoned Garrison, while the charge of *infidelity* has long since recoiled upon those who made it. Having heard many agents of this Society during the past year, we are fully convinced that their lectures are productive of great good, and consequently advise every friend of freedom to give them countenance and support. Surely, while we have no lecturers of our own in the field, let us do what we can for those who are doing our work for us. It is not the mission of the Anti-Slavery Society to make proselytes to swell the ranks of their party or association, but simply to manufacture anti-slavery sentiment and anti-slavery men, men who will be ready in any emergency to act against slavery and for freedom.—*Fitchburg News.*

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## THE TARIFF—DEBATE IN CONGRESS.

Mr. Millson (Va.) expressed his views on the tariff, contending that the abolition of the duties on raw materials, without a corresponding reduction on manufactured fabrics, would be the same as paying bounty out of the Treasury to manufacturers to sustain themselves against foreign competition.

Mr. Giddings (Ohio) remarked, it had been well said in a Whig paper, that protection is growing more and more dim, and the whole world are now opposed to the protective policy, and it is in vain for the Whigs to struggle against the onward progress. The discussion here had become stale and unprofitable; during three days, notwithstanding the eloquent speeches, the seats have been nearly empty, showing how little interest is felt in the subject. There is but one kind of protection, where the prohibitory principle has been carried out, and that is, slave trading. The slave growers of Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky, enjoy a perfect protection, for by the law it is made death to import slaves from abroad, while slaves can be transported from Maryland and Virginia further South. The laborer and the manufacturer of the nation have no protection. They can, however, generally take care of themselves.—His Northern Whig friends, while they say they want to protect Northern labor, countenance and maintain the sale of human flesh. But the people will pronounce them hypocrites. This morning, he read in a Whig paper that a female,—a mother,—when she saw her four children sold to an unfeeling dealer in human flesh, murdered them, rather than see them transferred to the pen of their purchaser; and for this the laws of the State consigned her to the gallows. He asked both his Whig and Democratic friends, whether they would steel their hearts to such cases of inhumanity? He repeated that men who profess to sympathize with their fellow men, and yet maintain commerce in human flesh, while professing to protect the labor of the North, utter what is not true.

Mr. Johnson (Tennessee) inquired whether the gentleman who had said that one species of labor only was protected, desired the prohibition removed, for the purpose of increasing competition?

Mr. Giddings—I spoke of the manufacturers of slaves, and not of slavery—it is the manufacturer of slaves alone, who is sustained and honored by the laws of the country. One great and striking policy has characterized the administration which is now going out, and on this one policy rest the hopes of its friends for distinction in future—he meant the Compromise Measures. The man whose death has this day been announced in the Senate, in March, 1850, put forth the programme which was carried through by the influence of the Executive. The Fugitive Slave Law has been in operation more than two years, and in each subsequent Message, the President has congratulated the country on the protection afforded to the Southern master. What are the facts? For three months ending the 3d of December, a larger number of fugitive slaves crossed the Northern Lakes, and found protection under the Canadian Government, than ever crossed at any former period of history, while the slave catchers slink back into the slave States, and become silent. His friend from Pennsylvania (Mr. Jones,) while speaking yesterday, said—Pennsylvania had stood firm on the Compromise Measures, but it was satisfactory to him (Giddings) to know that Pennsylvania furnished the men and Democrats who at Christiana stood firm in defence of the principles which every freeman holds dear to his heart. They struck down the oppressor, and laid him in the dust. He thanked the Democrats for that, and thanked God and took courage.

Mr. Jones (Pennsylvania) inquired whether he understood the gentleman to say that the Democrats sanctioned and sustained the Christiana riots?

Mr. Giddings replied—I never heard any thing else. (Laughter.)

Mr. Jones further asked whether the gentleman took it for granted that Democrats favor what they do not declare themselves opposed to?

Mr. Giddings hoped the gentleman would not interrogate him too closely, and then proceeded to encourage the friends of freedom by showing the progress of their cause, evidences of which are seen in the election of Benton in Missouri, and Gerrit Smith, the popularity of Uncle Tom's Cabin, the preaching of the Gospel, and the songs of poets.—He said that Fred. Douglass's prospects were brighter now than Gerrit Smith's were four years ago. When he comes here, we will have another illustration of the Fugitive Slave Law—a fugitive from labor, bringing with him African blood.

A Southern Voice—'Then we'll catch him.'

Mr. Giddings said, Douglass would ask no favors of Southern slaveholders or Northern serviles. He is competent to speak for himself, and the man who comes in contact with him will get off second best. In conclusion, he referred to a letter from Mr. Webster to our Minister in Spain, regarding Cuba, written in January, 1843, commenting upon it, and saying that it associated Webster's character with infamy. He said, with the annexation of Cuba to the United States, a fire would be kindled to burn off slavery, and drive it from the Continent.

Mr. Stanly (N. C.) said there is one matter in the President's Message, which I do not see adverted to in the pending resolutions of reference. An appropriation was made last session for a lunatic asylum, and this is of some importance to Congressmen and others. (Laughter)

Mr. Houston replied that he had proposed no reference of that branch of the Message, there being already ample provision for lunatics confined here or transported to Baltimore. (Renewed laughter.)

The Committee rose without disposing of the question before it, and the House adjourned.

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# The Liberator.

**No Union with Slaveholders!**

BOSTON, DEC. 24, 1852.


## VISIT TO PENNSYLVANIA.

The contrast between an anniversary meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society and one of the Massachusetts A. S. Society is somewhat striking, though in many things identical. In the principles to be inculcated and the measures to be prosecuted, there is almost perfect agreement; the platform of each is free to all who choose to make their appearance upon it—as free to the opponents of abolitionism as to its friends; the discussion is general, without regard to complexion or sex; the occasion brings together a large number of the most earnest and most reliable advocates and friends of the cause; and the interest is sure to be more and more absorbing, through eight or nine consecutive sessions, occupying three days, hardly allowing any time for the customary meals and rest. But there is far more excitement, and usually more stirring speaking at the latter than at the former. This is owing to a difference of locality, and also in the personality of the assembly. In Massachusetts, the annual meeting is invariably held in Boston,—the head-quarters of the Cottonocracy and Webster Hunkerism, which are sure to be resolutely attacked and faithfully exposed. This often stirs up 'the baser sort' to put down by hissing and hooting what cannot be met with argument nor disproved by facts. As the speaking proceeds, the manifestations of approbation or disapprobation are strong and frequent, according to the person or topic under consideration—those animated by the spirit of beasts and serpents generally occupying portions of the galleries and remote parts of the house, ashamed of their position and conduct, and unwilling to be recognized by the better portion of the audience. Men of all sects and parties are sure to be present, mixed up with those who have sacrificed all their sectarian and party predilections upon the altar of bleeding humanity. In its general appearance, however, while thus diversified in reality, the meeting is homogeneous, and marked by no external peculiarity.

The anniversary of the Pennsylvania Society is held in the interior, (and wisely, for that region,) either at West Chester or Norristown—two beautiful and quiet villages, too far removed from Philadelphia for the convenience of its rowdyism, and so far abolitionized as to offer no molestation. A very large proportion of its members is composed of those who either are or have been connected with the Society of Friends, still retaining their peculiar garb and using their peculiar dialect. The appearance of the assembly is, therefore, remarkably staid and solid; there is no sign of hurry or bustle in coming together, or in the proceedings, but every step is taken methodically, and the entire business is performed in accordance with the maxim, 'slow and sure.' Great care is taken in regard to what is adopted, and much circumspection exhibited as pertaining to the phraseology used—not, however, because a timid spirit prevails, but from an habitual training to avoid whatever may seem exaggerated or indiscreet. Perhaps this disposition is sometimes too nice and critical, leading to a consumption of time (always extremely precious on every such occasion) that might be more profitably employed; but it is better than haste and recklessness in such matters, as words are often exceedingly potent for good or for evil, according to the judgment displayed in their selection. No indecent or violent opposition manifesting itself, and the habit of Quakerism being inclined to a silent hearing rather than to audible approval of the sentiments of the speaker, the meetings seem lacking in warmth and enthusiasm to the eye of a Massachusetts abolitionist. But, underlying all this calmness and moderation, there is an amount of principle, a resoluteness of purpose, a devotedness of soul, not surpassed by any band of reformers in any part of the land. The anti slavery spirit at the East is more adventurous and aggressive, more personal and scathing, more given to pioneering, and consequently moves with greater celerity and boldness; but it is not better in quality, nor more enduring, than that of our Pennsylvania co-workers, who have trials and dangers enough to prove their mettle and their faith. Indeed, so far as personal safety is concerned, they are incomparably in greater peril (living in such proximity to the slaveholding regions) than the Eastern abolitionists; but their courage has been equal to every emergency, sublimely tranquil and ever victorious. In New England, the times of great personal danger have passed away; but abolitionists have been called to look in the face a fierce and unscrupulous religious proscription, perhaps far more trying than physical danger, certainly far beyond any thing as yet experienced by our friends in Pennsylvania; and this has had its uses in making us cling all the more tenaciously to principle, and lean upon an almighty arm for strength and succor.

We wish the Pennsylvania Society contained a larger infusion of anti-slavery Presbyterianism, Congregationalism, Methodism, &c. &c. &c.; not because it is not eminently catholic in its spirit, and is not desirous of welcoming persons of every sect to its membership, but because the claims of the slave for sympathy and aid are paramount to all sectarian divisions, and should combine together in one fraternal body all who are sincerely desirous of the overthrow of the slave system. Certainly, it is not to the reproach of the Quaker sect in that State, but very much to its credit, that a larger proportion of its members is actively laboring for the deliverance of our enslaved countrymen, than that of any other religious denomination; but it would be more pleasant, and more encouraging, to see a less striking contrast in this particular.

On the score of hospitality, our Quaker friends are unapproachable; and it is proffered with such evident pleasure and whole-heartedness as to make its enjoyment by the recipient at least two-fold. While at West Chester, we were most kindly entertained by a worthy Friend, J. HOOPES, who has a spacious residence, very finely located, in which for some years past he has kept a flourishing boarding-school, in the most creditable manner. Long may he live—a blessing to the rising generation, to be diffused and perpetuated to the latest posterity!

From West Chester, we accompanied our beloved friends JOHN and HANNAH COX, (among the truest of the true in the anti-slavery ranks,) to their 'home, sweet home,' at Kennett, where we spent three of the pleasantest days of our earthly existence, and to which we should be glad to make a pilgrimage annually. For many years, their hospitality has been proverbial, alike to the fugitive slave and the anti-slavery lecturer. For their great kindness and unwearied attention, during our visit, we owe them much, as well as other dear friends in that neighborhood, to whom we feel ourselves indissolubly allied in spirit. Our grateful acknowledgments are also proffered to CHANDLER and HANNAH DARLINGTON, at whose house we were introduced to a large and intelligent circle of friends, more or less interested in the various reformatory movements of the age. That occasion constituted an oasis in he journey of life.

During our stay at Kennett, we attended two sessions of a quarterly meeting of Friends, held at the 'Square,' and were invited to participate in the proceedings—an invitation which we accepted, it being as cordial as it was unconditional. This meeting was mainly composed of those who more and more realize the great truth, that genuine Quakerism is of the heart, and has little or nothing to do, in this age, with external and slavish conformity of dress and language; who feel that the limitations of sect are fetters upon the soul, and that progress is the law of being; who deem it not enough that they have Penn, and Fox, and Barclay, for their fathers, but are convinced that they also, like those fearless reformers, have a work to do in an evil age, even at the expense of their reputation, and at the risk of being ejected from the synagogue. Indeed, they seemed to consider themselves already cut off, in spirit if not in form, from the great Quaker organization, now so fearfully degenerated, through a ceremonial, bigoted and time serving spirit; and it was a subject of earnest inquiry and solemn deliberation with them, at this gathering, as to the course they ought to pursue, and the testimony they ought to bear, henceforth, as 'PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.' Various propositions were suggested, and discussed very ably; but as we left before a final decision was made, we are unable to record it here. From all that transpired, however, while we were present, we are inclined to believe that the result will be, the calling of a general conference, in the city of Philadelphia, some time next spring, of all free and kindred spirits, irrespective of sect, to consider the expediency of forming a religious association, which, while it shall prescribe no creed and resort to no forceful discipline, leaving the soul untrammelled, shall prove co-operative in the furtherance of the cause of Reform, in its most comprehensive sense. We can pay no higher tribute to the meetings alluded to, than to say that we never attended any, more gratifying to our feelings, or more congenial in spirit with our own. Among those who participated in the discussion were JOSEPH A. DUGDALE, formerly of Ohio, now of Kennett, and well known to the readers of the *Liberator*—a thorn in the side of Quaker Hunkerism, and a troubler of its pence, but possessed of a loving and reverent spirit, aspiring after all that is beautiful and good, and a practical reformer on a world-wide scale; OLIVER JOHNSON, the Editor of the Pennsylvania *Freeman*, who, by his cogent reasoning and lucid expositions, did excellent service, though in very feeble health;* MARY GREW, of Philadelphia, whose remarks were singularly pertinent and impressive; and ROBERT LAMBOURNE, a venerable preacher in the Society of Friends, upon whose mind old age seems to exert no power, keeping pace as it does with the progress of the times, and exhibiting the freshness of early manhood with patriarchal benignity of demeanor.

Our old and much esteemed friend, Dr. BARTHOLOMEW FUSSELL, an honored signer of the Declaration of Sentiments adopted in Philadelphia in 1833, is a resident of Kennett Square. It gave us much pleasure to take him once more by the hand, as he has faithfully adhered to the cause through every trial. Many a poor slave is indebted to him for safety and shelter in the hour of sharp distress. He still presents a very hale appearance, and distant be the day when time shall press heavily upon him.

*Mr. JOHNSON was suddenly taken very ill during the meetings, and confined to his room for several weeks. He has not yet so far recovered as to be able to resume his editorial labors, though convalescent.

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## DANIEL WEBSTER.

BY WENDELL PHILLIPS.

DANIEL WEBSTER is dead. If the Fugitive Slave Law could have died with him, he would indeed have slept in blessings. But the evil that men do lives after them: when it does not, we will speak nothing but praise of the dead.

We have nothing to do with him here as a jurist or an orator; nothing with his private character. Were we to pause a moment at that saddest of all sad sights, his death bed, it would be only to remark the pitiful flattery with which it has been described and dwelt on, in a tone which reveals the emptiness of our spiritual life. One would think our priests awe-struck, or beside themselves with gratitude, that the Great Man condescended to die a Christian!

The two Whig Chiefs have gone, and we find we have had Oberlins and Fenelons grinding in the mill of the Cabinet and the Senate House, and never knew it! Strange that he, one of the great trio, whose public and private life would best bear the closest scrutiny, with the added merit of actual slaveholding beside, has alone escaped Canonization! Compared with such Protestantism, there was dignity, self-respect, and a true emblem in the Pope with an Emperor holding his stirrup.

Perhaps it does not concern us here whether he was a great man. The slightest analysis, however, of most that has been said of him, even by those who begin by emphatically pronouncing him great, will show how utterly unworthy he was of the epithet. It is acknowledged by most that his life was, as a whole, a failure—that he failed to impress any great or original idea upon his times: that he not only failed to carry any great measure, but never conceived or originated one: that he so far mistook either himself or his time, that of most national questions, he has stood, at different periods, on both sides, and that his last opinion was always the erroneous and the losing one. He talked against slavery constantly up to 1850, but never exerted a tittle of anti-slavery influence, or stirred one heart against the system. Giving the lie, in that disastrous year, to all his empty rhetoric, this great light in falling drew not after it one of heaven's host. If the elephant turned from the van, he neither carried any away with him, nor crushed any in his retreat. Kidnappers at heart, who would have been silent, though not converted, had he spoken for Liberty, may have given him thanks when he descended to lead their ranks. They were the men whom his anti-slavery rhetoric of thirty years had convinced neither of his sincerity nor of his ideas. Had he spoken then for Liberty, he might, probably, have prevented the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law, and turned back the tide of Southern aggression: not, however, by any greatness or influence of his own. It would have been because other men—Adams, Giddings and their followers, on whom the MASTER STATESMAN of the anti-slavery movement, WM. LLOYD GARRISON, had impressed his great idea—because these men had elaborated for him a policy, prepared for him a public, created for him a North, built for him and showed him a way, and asked of him only the easy virtue of walking in it.

The two years that followed this change are allowed, on all hands, to have been the most laborious, active, and able of his whole career. Tried by the tone of the public press, or by any other test, his influence was as great as ever; and this so-called great man talked every day and everywhere, wrote to every body, and on all occasions; his vigor of thought, his energy, were marvellous; instead of seventy years, it seemed the 'May of youth and bloom of lustihood.' Yet what did he effect? Horace Mann, whose humblest friends Mr. Webster stooped to persecute with the pettiest malignity, was re-elected by increased majorities. A Free Soil Senator succeeded to his own chair: Massachusetts recoiled from the party that had owned her for fifty years: Syracuse laughed him to special scorn: no single vote, south of Mason and Dixon's line, could be begged to do him even the empty honor of a nomination: while, for political adherents, he fell into hands which have linked his name only with ridicule.

What is greatness in statesmanship? It is, in one form, by instinctive sympathy or pre-eminent ability, to understand and guide your own times: in another form, it is to outrun your own age, and mould the future. Had Webster either of these? Did *he* understand or guide his own age, who was always only first among the laggards? whose friends boast for him, as proof of 'practical statesmanship,' that he so often sacrificed his convictions to popular opinion? and yet who, strangely awkward, always contrived to make the sacrifice just when the people were coming round to his own opinion.

Did he foresee or mould the future, who was never John the Baptist, but always Caiaphas, with timid counsel that this man—ever some bearer of a new gospel—should die, lest the whole nation perish? who dropped from the revised edition of his works his best anti-slavery speeches, at the very moment when looming on the horizon was that great movement against slavery, so momentous that before it all American History since the Revolution is destined to pale and fade away?

To be a great American, one must have a glad, sublime, and fearless faith in the people, in the safety of trusting them with their own Government and Institutions. None of Mr. Webster's speeches are hopeful, but of late years he seems to have had no faith at all.

He was, without doubt, a great Jurist. But how much of his constitutional lore he owed to Story, we shall never know till his friends are more just than he, and allow the Judge's letters to him to be published. He was certainly an eloquent and able advocate: too much so, even in the Senate, where it marred whatever claim he had to the character of a statesman.

If he were not an orator, our age has not produced one: though it would be difficult to name the burning phrase or proverbial sentence which, like Chatham and Mirabeau, he has lent to literature, or given to the people as household words.

In simple intellect, no American has ever equalled him. But that massive brain contented itself with saying common things uncommonly well. It never went sounding on and on, to pilot the people into broader and deeper life. The great heart was fretting about broken toys, while the nation girded itself for great duties, and found its way onward alone. But mind does not govern, it is oftener will. It is not intellect that makes heroes, but character. This man made great speeches; and there is an unconscious confession of the real truth in the very form of expression so many of his eulogists adopt. He will be read, it has been said a hundred times, as long as the English language endures. Perhaps so. He may live in print. Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, Garrison, will live as long as the American nation is remembered, print or no print.

God gave us three able men in this age. CALHOUN, the pure, manly, uncompromising advocate of slavery; the Hector of a Troy fated to fall. CLAY, the secret, facile, and therefore more dangerous ally of Calhoun; the graceful Belial of politics, who

> Counselled ignoble ease and peaceful sloth,
> Not peace.

In the third, the ablest intellect of all, we looked to find the King of Men, one who should be the Voice of the Spirit of the Age. In place of this, lo! a mocking bird! His song, at one time, the Constitutional system of Marshall; at another, the tariff policy of Clay; and he was a double thief from Calhoun—first of the Free Trade principle, which he abandoned just when all else saw it about to triumph, and second, of the Slave policy, for which he died. The great statesman sinks to be the mere Swiss of politics, without even the usual shrewdness of his race at a bargain.

We argue greatness from a man's aims. This man aimed to be President; and died, as his most intimate friends say, broken-hearted because he failed. He followed his instincts, and led the van of American ideas, he had been tenfold more than President. Was it great to miss seeing this? Was it great to sacrifice one's whole past, one's deepest convictions, to lust of office? Did it show an able statesman to do all this in vain? Great men never die broken-hearted. That disease killed Wolsey, not Milton or Columbus.

Still, in justice to Mr. Webster, it should be said that no single mind, however able, can exert as much influence in this country as it has been the custom to ascribe to such in other lands. Ideas rule a thinking people like ours, and it is only by incarnating some great popular ideas that any intellect, or even any will, can govern America. Baptised into the spirit of the age, which no single mind can greatly influence here, much less control, a great man may become the people's idol; his self-forgetful consecration shall give him tenfold manhood and even tenfold might, and from his position he shall gain an influence no less greater than manhood and mind could together become. After all, the only leadership possible with us is best expressed in the war-cry of La Roche Jaquelin, the Vendean chief:—

> Si j'avance, suivez moi;
> Si je recule, tuez moi;
> Si je tombe, vengez moi.

If I ADVANCE, FOLLOW me. If I RETREAT, be true to your idea, and sacrifice EVEN ME.

How sad the wreck of such a life! Consummate Jurist! Your last great essay was to flout at a 'Higher Law'! Most able and eloquent Advocate! Could you find no other cause to plead than that of our lowest instincts against our highest and holiest sentiments? Alas! that your latest and ablest argument was the duty and rightfulness of slave-catching! was urged to make men smother their humanity! Sagacious Statesman! Fated to die not very old, yet to live long enough to see all the pleas of his manhood become obsolete ideas, except just those he had abandoned! Surely, he was a great party leader, who found the Whig party strong, spent life in its service, and died prophesying its annihilation: found it decent, at least in profession; left it despicable in shamelessness: found it the natural and well-disposed ally of free labor and free speech; stirred it to a contest with its rival in servile bidding for Southern fellowship, and left it despicable for the attempt, and still more despicable and ridiculous for the failure!

No thoughtful man should forget, in any estimate of Mr. Webster, his impudent attempt to smother freedom of discussion. *Impudent* is none too strong a word, when any man, however conspicuous for ability or position, sets himself to fetter free speech. Whether is the gravity of the wrong to be measured by the failure or success of the attempt. Such things grow by precedent. What is impudent and only ridiculous to-day, may become of weight and fearful to-morrow. The abolitionists are sometimes blamed for their severe judgments of men whose general characters are good. The examples of bad men are of little importance. It is the faults of good men, of popular idols, that are dangerous; and precedents set by such need special protest. What weapons they become in the hands of unscrupulous imitators! Tacitus told us long ago—*Non timemus Vespasianum; ea Prascoine actus, ea moderatio. Sed distinxit durant exempla, quam mores.* Principles are longer lived than character. We have a right, then, to demand even of those who think best of Mr. Webster, that they, with us, record their protest against this his most serious treason to the cause of liberty and progress.

Mr. Webster once pointed to the character of Washington as sufficient proof of the excellence of American institutions. It is this view of his own career that is saddest of all. As Washington in 1776, so Webster in 1850, were each the natural result of the institutions of their day. Our State taught him to barter justice for expediency: taught him that it was allowable to sacrifice one race to the prosperity of another. Our Church taught him to make religion a stalking-horse for ambition. Our party politics tempted him, burdened with great abilities, some character, awkward recollections, and the possibility of being fame, to throw off every high thought, and the one that did most nobly become him, and run a race with men, who, unknown yesterday, and to be forgotten to-morrow, could dare any depth of meanness to win their end. The heaviest brain God ever lent this age sunk beneath the lesson, and he died broken-hearted. Accursed be the institutions of which such is the natural product!

'His voice of wisdom and power, which was at home among us, has penetrated wherever there is an oppressor to be rebuked, or a victim to be cheered. Everywhere it has brought hope to the struggling and the down-trodden, and confusion to the wrong-doer.

These words a young man had the hardihood to utter in Faneuil Hall, which echoed so lately to the ill-grounded muskets of men watching, while State and in the chained Court House, lest, moved by such sight, some should be unable to obey Mr. Webster and 'conquer their prejudices!' These words a young man, reputed to possess the common feelings of humanity, had the heartless effrontery to utter in the presence of men who still trembled for the life of father and mother, wife and child, because of public sentiment which Mr. Webster (unreproved as most are now willing to confess,) had wielded and steeled against them! They could not have been intended as sober irony. That were a cruel and mocking insult, of which Mr. Hillard must be deemed incapable. To suppose he believed them true were to degrade his intelligence to the level of the Holmes, Winslows and Hale Smiths. It is now generally admitted that Mr. Webster's course on the Fugitive Slave Law was dictated by personal ambition, and shaped by regard to private ends. His predecessor in the office of Secretary, has declared that the ground he alleged were mere pretences. But whether true or so or not, if he really acted from noble motives, or at the call of inevitable necessity—still, Mr. Hillard's assertion is false. All, even then, that Mr. Webster's friends could plead would be, that patriotism and necessity *excused* him for 'withholding the poor boon

### FREE SOIL SOMETIMES HARD SOIL.

FRIEND GARRISON:

It has been my fortune this week to lecture in the midst of Free Soilers in Millbury and Grafton, where the Free Democrats outnumber the other parties. Arguing good from this fact, I hoped to have large and enthusiastic meetings. In this, however, I was disappointed. In both these towns, there are many Free Soilers and very few abolitionists. The Free Soilers lay great stress upon voting, and condemn Garrison because he does not vote. They go so far at times as to doubt his anti-slavery integrity, because he does not go to the ballot-box. Of course, then, they are sure to vote to a man; particularly when an important election is pending. When the alternative is the election of an Adams, a Wilson, a Weston, a Seward, a Howland, and other men like these, pledged not in the National Congress for liberty, or the choice of Whigs, pledged to be the obsequious servants of the Slave Power, then surely these Free Soilers, who make such an ado about voting, will be carried late and all day at the polls, making every exertion, and putting forth every effort necessary to secure the triumph of their principles and the election of their men. I wouldn't give a brass farthing for the anti-slavery principle of the man who believes in the duty of voting, who would allow any cause, which he could possibly control, to keep him away from the polls. No matter if he stood alone, still he would stand and cast his influence for freedom. And had each man who calls himself an abolitionist and a voter gone to the polls last Monday, the Massachusetts delegation to the next Congress would have stood exactly opposite to what it now does. The Hunkers would have had but two of the whole; now they have all but two. The Free Soilers are not fully consecrated to humanity, and hence they lose ground. Their *spasmodic* efforts only make the success of slavery more sure and marked. Suppose the agents, after the campaign at the season of Pentecost, had gone into winter quarters till another Pentecost had come round, as the Free Soilers do after each election, would they have revolutionized the world? Did our fathers go into the revolutionary struggle in this desultory, fitful spirit? Or, if they had, would Trenton, Saratoga and Yorktown have become living names? Where are the fifty lecturers whose names were paraded last autumn in the columns of the *Commonwealth* as the public champions of impartial and universal liberty? Is slavery abolished? Are our liberties secured? Or do they argue, with their brother Lovejoy of Cambridgeport, that this agitation works harm, and the people need rest? The past four years there ought to have been at least one hundred meetings in Massachusetts every Sunday evening, for the public and earnest discussion of the great issues of our time; and such men as Wilson, Sumner, Mann, Berlingame and S. C. Phillips ought to have been ready to speak in these meetings, with Garrison, Phillips, Foster, Pillsbury, Abby K. Foster and Lucy Stone. The anti-slavery men and women of the old Commonwealth ought to have furnished the funds for such a movement; and they would gladly have done it, if the leading men had only taken the initiative steps, and led the way with tried fidelity. Instead of doing this, they have decried the Garrisonians, and affiliated with the Democracy, by whom, as a just return for this subserviency to unbelieving expediency, they have been betrayed in this fall campaign. The Free Soilers who organized the coalition are defeated through compromise, the disease of which our public men all die, while the uncompromising Smith, strong in his unswerving integrity, is clothed by the voluntary suffrages of men of all parties, who are attracted to him by his own fidelity to his principles.

The Whigs have triumphed in this State, because the Free Soilers have managed their cause so foolishly. The *Era* and the *Commonwealth* cannot wink it out of sight, that the Free Soil party has lost ground steadily during the past four years, nor can any one fail to see that the reason for this is their own criminal expediency. They have failed to plant in the spring-time and to cultivate in the summer; how can they expect to gather in the autumn, and be housed and fed in the winter? Will they learn wisdom from the past, and henceforth eschewing all evil—that is, compromise with slavery or slavery supporting parties—put themselves openly, earnestly and perpetually on the side of freedom, and against oppression? While doing their own work, in their own way, (only be *all the time doing,*) will they give to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society a cordial and efficient support in the moral agitation which this Society keeps up for truth and justice and freedom, now every where stricken to the earth? Let them never hope to succeed while they proscribe and thwart the pioneers in this holy cause. And let them take magnanimous and true ground; let them stand on the ground of 'no compromise with oppression'; let them go to work and labor with apostolic constancy and zeal to baptize the people into the knowledge and love of liberty, and there may be harmony and co-operation between all divisions of the great anti-slavery army, and before another four years shall have passed, old Massachusetts may be redeemed from the domination of the Slave Power! Eternal Wisdom grant that it may be so! At the same time, I would deprecate and avoid indiscriminate censure or undue severity of criticism towards the Free Soilers. I would gladly own and rejoice in all the good they have done or may do. I rejoice in the anti-slavery truth so nobly spoken by Mann, Giddings, Palfrey, Sumner, Rantoul, Seward and Hale in Congress. Let us have 'a little more such grape' this winter, and a good deal more such before the people all the time. Let Free Soilers take the high ground occupied by Gerrit Smith, and say to the Whig and the Democrat, 'Come with us and we will do you good.' But never let them go down to alliance with them in their party organizations. I trust these political abolitionists will learn a lesson from the past which they greatly need, and go to work for a wide-spread and radical overturn.

My meetings at Millbury were thinly attended. I met inveterate prejudice against Mr. Garrison in my rounds during the day time, and one of the Orthodox deacons told me, the second evening, that my meetings were small because I was a Garrisonian, and the people of Millbury, he said, could not bear Mr. Garrison. I was pained to find the Free Soilers asleep, and in such a deep slumber that they could not be roused. The election is over, and they have gone into winter quarters till next September. I was refused the privilege of speaking in the vestry of the Congregational church, though that was the only fit place for a meeting. However, the Congregational minister was out the second evening, and endorsed what I said on the relation of Christianity to American slavery, with this exception, to wit, he thought I was too severe with Moses Stuart and Gardner Spring. Still, he owned that they had utterly perverted the Gospel of Christ in their teachings upon this question, and he owned, also, that this was the vital question of this age, taking precedence of all others. I said nothing harder about them than these admissions; so I do not see as we differ greatly on that point. I hope the Massachusetts Society will send me back to Millbury again, and then, if the vestry is shut against me, I think I shall be able to let my light shine a little there. I feel perfectly sure, however, that it would be open another time, and that I should have an audience to hear me. I tried earnestly to get some subscribers to the *Liberator*, but did not succeed. I found a cordial welcome and a happy home in a true anti-slavery family—a piece of good fortune which did not attend me at Grafton. I arrived in that wealthy and beautiful village early on Thursday morning, put in circulation twenty-five printed notices, and during the day, gave verbal notice in most of the shoe and boot shops. I hired the Academy Hall, bought fluid and coal, at the appointed hour lighted and warmed it, and had an audience all told of twenty-five, and got a collection of fifty cents, which came within four dollars of paying expenses. To-day it stormed, and the prospect of increasing expenses to no purpose induced me to come home, where I shall enjoy a brief hour of the truest rest earth knows, before I start forth anew upon this arduous but most delightful work.

Yours fraternally,

DANIEL FOSTER.

Cambridge, Dec. 27th, 1852.

### THE COLORED PEOPLE IN CANADA—DO THEY NEED HELP?

MR. GARRISON—From your kindness to myself while in Boston, as well as from your interest in the fugitives in Canada, I am persuaded you will give me a hearing in their behalf. I have carefully examined the article in the *Liberator* of Nov. 22d, and this is the sum of the whole: 'The resolutions express the views of the great body of the fugitives—such are the facilities for a livelihood in Canada, that new comers not only supply their own necessities, but are able in a short time to take care of others—that from the profuse liberality sent to Canada from the States, *few* fugitives have been benefitted, the almoners taking the lion's share—the great waste of clothing from being left to mould—the assault upon Henry Bibb and wife, and the pernicious influence of the 'Refugees' Home Society.'

Now, these are grave charges, surely, affecting not only the interests of thousands in Canada, but the reputation of many in Michigan and elsewhere, who were supposed to be quite respectable people, until these 'resolutions' and affirmations informed the world to the contrary. It will be well, therefore, to look into the statements.

And first, as to their *origin*. There is a small faction of colored persons, in and about Winsor, (*most of whom* have never been slaves,) from whom proceeds most of this newspaper opposition. And now let us look at the truthfulness of the Winsor resolutions. The affirmation that the resolutions express the voice of nine-tenths of the fugitives in Canada is only an assertion without evidence, an assertion that has been contradicted by a public meeting of the fugitives, and by the fact that as fast as 'the Home Society' can furnish homes, the people receive them with all joyfulness. The next affirmation, that 'the new comers' move with such rapid march towards wealth, from much destitution, that in a short time they answer to appeals made by others for help, appears too ridiculous to deserve an answer. Do you send hundreds of *white* families and persons to Canada with not a shilling in their pockets, or clothes enough on their backs to keep them warm, and see if there would be no need of help! Why did the Boston people send *ten thousand dollars* to the fire-stricken people of Montreal, last summer? and the New Yorkers twice as much more? and the Philadelphians as much more? Is *fire* worse than SLAVERY? or does slavery better qualify people for successful labor than freedom? Wonderful people are these fugitive brothers of ours, surely! But, alas! this beautiful vision seems to stand contradicted by a long array of *appalling facts*. Last winter, HIRAM WILSON (whose name will go down to posterity as a sweet odor in connection with the wrongs of the fugitive) wrote thus: 'Many are now reduced to very great distress. I have taxed my frail powers to the utmost in affording relief to the poor, and succor to the friendless. My wife and others have been with me till we are all nearly prostrated. For three weeks I have been incessantly on the move for the relief of the poor; the calls at our mission house are numerous, and some of them affecting in the extreme.' There lies before me a whole printed page of heart-rending accounts of suffering, for the relief of which this dear servant of God was obliged to run into debt hundreds of dollars. Mary Teal (the successor of Fidelia Coburn Brooks, who came to he grave from her hardships in Canada,) says, 'Children have travelled a hundred miles through the forest to get books and clothes, and I have been under the painful necessity of sending them empty away, having nothing to give'! Mr. May says—'There has been a great deal of destitution and suffering, in some instances *absolute starvation.*' Now, if a resident of Canada might be so occupied in writing 'resolutions' and letters as to be a stranger to all these facts, that is quite possible; and that such a resident would be quite as useful out of as in Canada, is equally possible.

Another charge, not to be overlooked, is, that '*Few* persons have been helped from the profuse liberality of friends in the States'!!! 'EVERY almoner acting often with as little justice as a slave-catching commissioner'! Here is robbery and fraud on a large scale—sufficient to consign a score or two of persons to the penitentiary, embracing every missionary and nearly every teacher in Canada; for, be it known, that Mr. Bibb has not even *heard* of a hundredth part of the 'profuse liberality, that has reached Canada. I have sent hundreds of dollars there, (two hundred at one time from my own people,) that Henry Bibb never heard of. What are we to think of the *credulity* of persons sending broadcast such sweeping, such *foul* slanders? You will have your thoughts, and I will have mine.

Now, a word about the 'waste of clothes from being suffered to mould.' This has been true in a few, and but a few cases. Nor was any one at fault for this waste. The donors directing their gifts to one in no particular, or their arrival not being known, they have remained in a damp place until injured.

Not very trivial (unless it be from its source) is the assault upon Mr. and Mrs. Bibb. From one of the oldest and most influential abolitionists in Detroit, I have just received a letter, containing the following:—'Of —— —— I know nothing, but have heard her spoken of repeatedly as a *special opponent of Mr. Bibb.* That there is any just ground for this opposition, I have not been able to learn, although I have frequently made particular inquiry. That much that is charged against him is *false*, I have no doubt.'

The person bearing this testimony in favor of Mr. B., the late Mayor of Detroit, (Mr. Chandler) says, 'No man in this community enjoys the more perfect confidence of our entire population than he.' Suppose, now, Mr. Bibb's paper is patronised by 'but few' of a people, the best of whom 'can read a little'? It would be a curiosity to know whose paper *is* taken by these people. The colored people in the States can read a good deal, and yet S. R. Ward complained that they scarcely patronised his paper at all. Frederick Douglass makes the same complaint But who supposed that this neglect constituted these editors greater sinners than those eighteen on whom the tower in Siloam fell! Suppose, too, that many fugitives are hostile to Mr. and Mrs. Bibb;—they have been so to many other of their friends. A public meeting in Canada once passed a resolution to whip one of their teachers, who was then wearing her life out for them. All this proves—whatever you choose to have it, of course. Having been frequently in the communities where Mr. and Mrs. Bibb have resided since their removal to Canada, I feel bound to say, they stand as high in the estimation of, and are looked up to more by the refugees than any other persons in the community. Last summer, during the prevalence of the cholera, I spent a short time in Winsor, and during my stay there, Henry Bibb and wife were thronged with applications for aid and counsel. From morning to night, and in the night, they were on the move to meet these calls; to get a doctor—to provide watchers—to get a coffin—to send somebody to dig the graves—and *to bury the dead.* For all these works, the people looked to them, as children to parents; and they performed them, too. (The truth is, 'George Harris' of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' never went to Africa, or, if he did, he has come back to Canada.)

Why the assault is made upon this Society, you will be at a loss to know. Scarcely was it in existence, ere —— —— was writing 'bitter things' against it. At first, her objections were confined to the sixth article of the Constitution:—'The Society shall give deeds to none but landless refugees from American slavery.' The presence of this article is the source of opposition from the *free* colored people. There are two other objections that may be mentioned here: the smallness of the appropriation, (twenty-five acres,) and the withholding from the settler power of transfer for fifteen years. The objectors would have *fifty* acres assigned to each family, and expose the recipient to the wiles of 'land sharks' the moment he gets possession of his new home!

Look now at the propriety of aiding these people at all. How largely the Bible dwells on the *duty* of aiding the poor! And if these people are not poor, then *none are poor.* If charity should not be extended to *these*, then *there should be an end of charity.* How readily will you, and all persons who have not an 'axe to grind,' pronounce him the best helper of the poor, who puts them in the way of helping themselves! SUCH A HELPER is the Refugee Home Society. Let me read to you a few testimonials in its behalf:—'If this effort shall be successful, more will thereby have been done for the colored people than could be done by sending clothing and money for a score of years.' Rev. George Whipple, Secretary of the American Missionary Society.

'I am prepared to hail with joy unspeakable the movement which contemplates the purchase of lands in Canada for the settlement of the poorer share of them who have no homes of their own.' Rev. Hiram Wilson, more than fifteen years in Canada.

'I have no doubt your plan of providing a home for the fugitive is deserving of much encouragement.' Rev. Dr. Willis, President of the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada.

'Least of all would I discountenance a generous co-operation with and liberal giving to such a Society as the Refugee Home Society. I believe that Society to be aiming in the right direction. It promises more for their permanent good and future elevation than any other that has yet been started. Let me say more explicitly, if I can, that I cordially recommend the project of the Refugee Home Society to the generous assistance of all who wish to befriend the fugitives in Canada.' Rev. Samuel J. May.

Your readers have not forgotten the high commendation Mr. May gave to Rev. Mr. King, of the Elgin Settlement, and the success of *his* Refugee Home enterprise. Just about three years ago, Mr. R. was himself a slaveholder. He emancipated his people, and went with them to Canada, and settled them and others on fifty acre farms—the settlers paying in time for the whole. His experience and testimony are therefore invaluable. Of the first, I will give but a single line—'*The settlers are exceeding our most sanguine expectations.*' Of our work he says—'The friends in the United States can provide homes for the fugitives by purchase of crown lands and holding them in trust for them—[i. e., until we give the deeds] I perceive by the papers that you are endeavoring to raise a fund for that purpose. I hope you will be successful. There are some fine tracts of government land that can be easily obtained now, but in a few years it will be difficult to obtain them. I trust the friends of the colored race will not lose the favorable opportunity of securing them.'

I might add a long list to these testimonials, from missionaries now in Canada, and from philanthropists who have visited that country; but if these grumblers 'will not hear these, neither would they be persuaded though' all the world should testify.

Who are the officers and managers of the Society thus commended? The President, Rev. H. D. Kitchell, stands at the head of the Congregational ministry of Michigan. On the Executive Committee are three wholesale merchants, four or five practical farmers, three editors, one lawyer and one 'gentleman,'—Messrs. Hallock, Holmes and Garner, and the Messrs. Powers, (members of the Society of Friends) have stood in the front of the reformers of Michigan from the first; and, Heaven helping them, they will go forward in this good work, until thousands of happy homes shall be secured for these sable exiles, and hundreds of schools welcome their now free children. Shall the steam-ship arrest its career for the small fry that may chance to cross its track? So as GOD is mightier than steam, shall he work out this great good to these his ignorant and long-abused ones. And let these opposers, who are seeking 'bad eminence' for themselves, 'take heed lest haply they be found fighting against God!'

Yours fraternally, C. C. FOOTE.

Philadelphia, Dec. 14th, 1852.

P. S. The people of Boston and 'the region roundabout' have contributed near five thousand dollars to the Canadian Refugee Home Society. The publisher of Uncle Tom's Cabin gave one hundred dollars, and the authoress has promised an annual contribution of one hundred dollars. C. C. F.

For the Liberator.

### THE PROPHET ION.

BY THE OLD COLONY BARD.

'Harsh as the truth,' we're bound to cry on,
Despite the 'cool advice' of Ion.
I'd rather be a roaring lion,
Than be a fox, though trained by Ion.
Stern words for justice we should ply on,
Nor heed the homily of Ion.
The anti-slavery car will fly on,
With or without the aid of Ion.
The fleeing slave will Northward hie on,
Nor wait the piloting of Ion.
Oars ever shipped we all might lie on,
If we should heed the prophet Ion.

### THE FREE DEMOCRATIC VOTE.

Annexed is the Free Democratic Vote in the United States, at the recent Presidential election, as near as it can now be ascertained, as compared with the Free Soil Vote in 1844; the vote for Martin Van Buren in 1848 not furnishing any criterion, as he drew off a large party of 'Barnburners' from the old Democratic party, who went in a body for Gen. Frank Pierce:—

| *States.* | 1844. | 1852. | *Gain.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Maine, | 4,832 | 8,030 | 3,168 |
| New Hampshire, | 4,161 | 6,695 | 2,534 |
| Vermont, | 3,984 | 8,621 | 4,637 |
| Massachusetts, | 10,959 | 29,008 | 19,049 |
| Rhode Island, | 005 | 640 | 635 |
| Connecticut, | 1,943 | 3,160 | 1,217 |
| New York, | 15,812 | 25,433 | 9,621 |
| New Jersey, | 131 | 344 | 213 |
| Pennsylvania, | 3,133 | 8,860 | 5,727 |
| Delaware, | | 062 | 062 |
| Ohio, | 8,050 | 31,782 | 23,732 |
| Indiana, | 2,105 | 6,934 | 4,828 |
| Illinois, | 3,439 | 9,731 | 6,292 |
| Michigan, | 3,632 | 7,237 | 3,605 |
| Wisconsin, | | 8,842 | 8,842 |
| Iowa, | | 1,612 | 1,612 |
| Kentucky, | | 266 | 266 |
| Maryland, | | 054 | 054 |
| North Carolina, | | 059 | 059 |
| California, (Eastern) | | 250 | 250 |
| | 62,217 | 157,620 | 96,403 |
| 1848—Van Buren, | | 292,828 | |
| 1852—Hale, | | 157,620 | |
| Decrease, | | 135,208 | |

EMPLOYMENT WANTED. Mrs. MARY BROWN, in Dutton Place, 13 Southac street, needs employment. She is an intelligent and capable woman, and is ready to do washing or other domestic labor. She has seven children, dependent on her labor and care. We have satisfactory evidence of her industry and integrity, and believe her to deserve, as well as need, this assistance.—x.

*Death of Dr. W. F. Garvey*—Many of the Christian reformers and philanthropists of this country are familiar with the name and character of Dr. Carove, late Professor in the University of Heildeberg, Germany. In 1846, there was published in this country the German Liberty Almanac, in which was a long address to the German citizens of the United States. This was the production of Dr Garove. He felt a deep interest in the cause of the slaves of this country. Three years ago, he was instrumental in the formation of a German Society to promote the abolition of Slavery in the United States, but more directly to give information to the Germans emigrating to the United States, that they might maintain a right position of hostility to that sin, after they should become citizens. The Society is flourishing, and continues its correspondence with philanthropists in all parts of the world. The sad intelligence of his decease has recently been received.

☞ A son of Mr. Betts, of Wayne, Erie Co., Pa., was heating a kettle of spirits of turpentine on a stove, with four younger brothers and sisters about him; the father was absent, the mother in an adjoining room, when, on the young man putting some rosin in the kettle, it exploded or boiled over on the stove, filling the whole room with flame and gas, and striking every person present blind and helpless. Mrs. Betts was found strangled by the neighbors, and all her children so burned that three of them died the same night, and the two remaining were not expected to survive when last heard from.

☞ The Memphis *Whig* announces in detail the death of the Hon. John W. Crockett, which occurred in that city on the 24th ult. He was a son of the celebrated David Crockett. He was in Congress, as his father's successor, through six sessions, then became connected with the New Orleans *Crescent*, and, about a year ago, went to Memphis to practise law. At the last National Whig Convention, the Tennessee delegation cast their vote for him for Vice President.

☞ In 1850, Ohio produced 1,964,770 hogs; Kentucky, 2,861,163; Illinois, 1,915,910; Indiana, 2,263,776; Tennessee, 3,114,111—making the number of slaves raised by these five States alone, in one year, 12,239,730.

☞ William H. Seward delivered an eulogy on Daniel Webster, in the Senate, on Tuesday, last week. We are sorry he did so, for he cannot fail to offend many of his admirers, who surmise that he kept back a great deal that he knew in reference to Mr. Webster's character.—*Hartford Republican.*

*The Independent*, the Congregational paper of New York, has been published four years, and during that time has attained a circulation of over ten thousand copies, having two thousand clergymen on its list of subscribers. It is conducted by pastors of Congregational churches, and has in addition stated contributions from Revs. R. S. Storrs, George B. Cheever, and Henry Ward Beecher and Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe. With such editorial arrangements, it could hardly fail of being, what it certainly is, one of the best religious papers of the day. Published at 24 Beekman street, New York, at $2 per annum, when paid strictly in advance.

*France.*—On Wednesday, 1st the Corps Legislatif met to sum up the votes for the empire. The Assembly adjourned at 7 o'clock, when the following was proclaimed as the result of the *Plebiscue*:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, | 7,864,189 |
| No, | 253,145 |
| Null, | 63,326 |
| Majority for L. Napoleon, Emperor, | 7,547,718 |

Immediately afterwards, the whole Corps Legislatif went to St Cloud, *en costume*, to announce the result.

Next day, Thursday, at 1 o'clock, P. M., Napoleon made his public entry, as Emperor, into Paris.

*Russia.*—The Duke de Leuchtenburg was buried Nov. 4th, in the Church of St. John of Jerusalem, with ceremonies no less imposing than those for the Duke of Wellington.

CANANDAIGUAY, Dec. 10.

*Railroad Accident—Three Persons Killed.*—A fatal collision occurred on the Rochester and Syracuse railroad, at 7 o'clock this morning. The express train from Buffalo came in contact with the dirt train, near a place called Williamsville, instantly killing three persons, and injuring three others, one, it is supposed, mortally.

☞ B. C. Clark, Esq., of Boston, has published a pamphlet, entitled 'Plea for Hayti.' It favors the recognition of Hayti by the United States, and is filled with much historical and statistical information relating to that country.

*Death of a Mexican War Surgeon.*—Dr. Justin E. Stevens, of Boston a volunteer in the Ninth Regiment under Gen. Pierce, in Mexico, died at his residence, Friday morning, aged 30. He contracted in the service the disease of which he died.

☞ Horatio Greenough, Esq., the sculptor, as we learn from the *Transcript*, died on Saturday morning last, after a short but violent attack of brain fever. Mr. Greenough ranked very high in his profession, and his loss will be severely felt by all lovers of art.

*Naval.*—John Montgomery Dale, one of the oldest commanders in the U. S. Navy, died at Philadelphia on the 15th inst.

SYRACUSE, Dec. 10.

*The Jerry Cases—Another Arrest.*—Hiram Brown, colored, has been arrested by the Marshal for helping in the rescue of Jerry. He wintered in Canada. Marshal Allen had had the warrant for a long time, but has been unable to serve it, Brown having kept out of the way. He has been bailed till January. Loguen, the colored preacher, was bailed yesterday.

*Loss of two Steamers on the Mississippi.*—A despatch from Memphis states that the steamer Western World was run into and sunk, a few days since, by the H. R. W. Hill, near Hurricane Island, and was turned bottom up, proving a total loss. Several lives were lost. The steamer Moro Castle has also sunk near the same place, but the particulars are not known.

☞ An equestrian drama on the subject of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' was lately produced in London, at Astley's, with all the needful accessories of scenery, costume and pageant. It is said to be a stirring and striking piece.

☞ Lady Ada Augusta, the 'Ada, sole daughter of my house and heart' of Lord Byron, expired, a few weeks since, after a lingering illness of more than one year's duration, at No. 6 Great Cumberland place, London. She was born in 1816, at the noble poet's town residence, No. 122 Piccadilly, and was, like her illustrious father, in the 37th year of her age when she died. On the 8th July, 1835, the poet's daughter was united to Lord King, subsequently (in 1838) created Earl of Lovelace—a connection by which the lineage of Locke was blended with that of Byron. She left two sons and a daughter.

☞ Rev. Dr. JAMES WALKER has been chosen to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of President Sparks, of Harvard University.

☞ On the first of January next, the sale of lottery tickets will be forever prohibited in Virginia—so says the law.

THE BOSTON ALMANAC, for 1853, has been published, in its usual style of elegance and neatness, by Damrell & Moore, George Cooledge, and John P. Jewett & Co. It contains several new wood cuts of public buildings, a newly engraved map of Boston, Bonner's old map of the town as it was in 1722, an article by Dr. J. V. C. Smith, on ancient and modern Boston, and a great variety of intelligence useful for business men. This is the eighteenth number of a most valuable little work, which has always been a favorite with the public.

☞ The countess Rumford, lately deceased, has bequeathed in her will $15,000, and a homestead valued at $5000, for a Widow and Orphan's Asylum, and $15,000 to the New Hampshire Insane Asylum, and $2000 to the Concord Charitable Female Society.

*Death of Madame D'Arusmont.*—The *Commonwealth* learns that the celebrated Madame D'Arusmont, or as she was formerly known, Frances Wright, who died very suddenly at Cincinnati, Ohio, on Tuesday last, was born in Dundee, Scotland, Sept. 6, 1795. Her parents were related to some of the most distinguished families of Scotland and England. She came to this country in 1818.

*Remains of John Quincy Adams.*—The remains of John Quincy Adams were removed this morning from the burial ground in which they had been deposited, in order to consign them to a tomb under one of the churches, with the remains of his widow who recently deceased at Washington, and which were brought to Quincy this morning. The coffin containing the revered remains was opened, and the features of Mr. Adams were found in a perfect state of preservation. Mr. Adams has been dead nearly five years. The body was enclosed is an air-tight case.—*Herald 16th.*

*The National Era.*—The circulation of this paper has reached nearly twenty-five thousand copies weekly, and is rapidly increasing.

☞ An absconding slave from Richmond, Va., was found on board the steamer Roanoke, at Norfolk, and sent back to his master.

☞ A paper is just started at Norwich, entitled '*The American Cream Soap Journal.*' We know of several *Soft* Soap Journals devoted to the business of soft-soaping the people.

☞ *NINETEENTH* NATIONAL

## ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.

The National Anti-Slavery Bazaar was opened on the morning of WEDNESDAY the 22d of December, at 10 o'clock, in HORTICULTURAL HALL, School street.

The Managers have much pleasure in announcing, that the collection of articles on the present occasion fully equal in variety, beauty and utility, those of any previous year.

Very large and valuable contributions have been received from London, Paris, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dublin, Bristol, Leeds and Manchester, including not only every variety of Ladies' and Children's Clothing, and every species of Ladies' work, either ornamental or useful, but a great variety of Drawings in different styles, some by amateur artists of great merit, others by Varley and other distinguished artists. A bronze Statuette of great beauty by Cumberworth, 'African Woman at the Fountain,' and an almost endless variety of *perits objets* of every description in bronze, china and ivory; Books presented to the Bazaar by their authors, Autographs of distinguished men, Engravings, oil Paintings, and many other objects of interest too numerous to particularize. Every variety of De La Rue's Paper, with corresponding Envelopes.

### THE REPRESHMENT TABLE AT THE BAZAAR.

As it is impossible to arrange a Refreshment Room this year in connection with the Anti-Slavery Bazaar, we trust that the anti-slavery friends in Boston and its vicinity will see to it that the Refreshment Table is abundantly and elegantly supplied.

Donations of Tea, Coffee, Sugar, Milk and Cream, Cold Meats, Cake and Confectionary, are requested.

THE PROSCRIPTION OF THE FREE SOIL SENATORS. The following is the vote in the U. S. Senate on the mean and base proposition to exclude all the Free Soilers from all the Committees:—

Against Proscription—Messrs. Broadhead, Chase, Clarke, Hale, Sumner, Wade—6.

For Proscription—Messrs. Adams, Atchison, Badger, Bayard, Borland, Bradbury, Bright, Brooke, Butler, Cass, Cathcart, Charlton, Clemens, Cooper, Dawson, Dodge of Wisconsin, Dodge of Iowa, Douglass, Felch, Fish, Foot, Gever, Gwin, Hunter, James of Tennessee, Mason, Miller, Morton, Pearce, Shields, Smith, Jones, Soule, Spruance, Toucey, Underwood, Upham, Weller—38.

The New York *Post*, with true manliness, remarks on this affront:—

The result of this vote was to exclude from the Committees of the Senate, Messrs. Hale of New Hampshire, Chase of Ohio, and Sumner of Massachusetts. Such an indignity, we believe, was never before perpetrated by an American Senate, or upon an American Senator. It was one of the most ill-bred and uncourteous proceedings we ever heard of in a deliberative assembly. We do not propose to stop now to discuss its impropriety, or the inconsistency of proscribing one class of 'independents' at the North, and overlooking precisely the like offences in the independents of the South,—Messrs. Soule and others,—who were quite as distinctly without the organization of the Democratic party as either of the proscribed triumvirate we have mentioned.

THE NO TO THE BAZAAR!—The Anti-Slavery Bazaar was opened on Wednesday, in the Horticultural Hall in School Street, and presented an elegant display of articles, of every variety and price, and abundant beyond all precedent. The contributions of our trans-Atlantic friends have been extremely generous, and add immensely to the brilliancy of the exhibition. Now, friends of universal freedom! fail not to give a prompt attendance—take all the money you can spare, *and a little more*, with you—empty your pockets clean by your purchases—and induce as many others as you can to 'go and do likewise.' The Bazaar will probably close on the evening of New Year's Day.

PERSONAL. We are so mixed up with the anti-slavery cause, by the peculiar circumstances of the case, as often to be made the subject of gross personal abuse or exaggerated praise, even in our own columns. The latter appearing in the *Liberator*, may look a little vain or egotistical to some, but we trust not to be spoiled by it, especially when countless viols of defamation are so profusely poured out upon us! We make this apology, in consequence of the high tribute paid to us in Mr. Phillips's article on Daniel Webster, which could not be omitted without mutilating his language, and doing injustice to his own idea of men and things. He is no flatterer—though a very partial friend in this instance.

SAMUEL J. MAY ON DANIEL WEBSTER. The death of Mr. Webster has given a *kaleidescope* display of the clergy of the country. It is a great event to show the colors of the Church, as well as others. The popular ministers make an *apotheosis* of the dead Secretary.

But there are true ministers, who don't belie his talents, his virtues, or his vices. Rev. Samuel J. May, of this city, is one of them. Sunday before last, he preached a discriminating, faithful and eloquent sermon on Mr. Webster. God honored him with great endowments, which, if he had been faithful, would have placed him among the greatest benefactors; but as he was treacherous to God and humanity, they sunk him very low, and made him a monumental warning forever.—*Syracuse Star.*

☞ Mr. MAY, at our solicitation, has kindly furnished us with the manuscript copy of his sermon, for publication in the *Liberator*. We shall lay it before our readers next week. All honor to this faithful witness!

ANOTHER GIFT BOOK. 'Cousin Frank's Household, or Scenes in the Old Dominion, by POCAHONTAS,' is the title of a very handsomely printed volume, with illustrative engravings, just published by Upham, Ford & Olmstead, 122 Washington Street. The author says of it, 'Were we content to be an humble imitator, we know of no one whom we should be prouder to follow than the noble author of that wonderful work, Uncle Tom's Cabin; but we owe it to ourselves to say, that our little book was projected before the publication of the latter.' This work abounds with graphic delineations and thrilling scenes, and will doubtless have a wide circulation.

WORTH BUYING, PERUSING, CIRCULATING, PRESERVING. The Two Sermons, preached before the Twenty-Eighth Congregational Society in Boston, on the 14th and 21st of November, 1852, on leaving their Old and entering a New Place of Worship, by THEODORE PARKER, have been published in a handsome pamphlet of 56 pages, by Crosby, Nichols & Co., 111 Washington Street, which may be obtained at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill—price 25 cents. Those who listened to the delivery of these Sermons will need no urging to purchase; and those who did not have only to obtain them to be equally fortunate. Some capital extracts hereafter.

ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR. I was our intention to acknowledge the handsome donation received from this source for the *Christian Press*, in the same paper containing the note from the Committee advising us of the appropriation, but in our press of business it was overlooked for the moment.

As we depend upon weekly receipts for paper payments, the fifty dollars thus given was a timely and valuable aid, and the reception of it gave us the more pleasure because evincing great liberality of feeling upon the part of the donors, inasmuch as our course does not, in all respects, meet their entire approval. Such largeness of views is worthy of special remark in this day of warring prejudices and interests. We tender to the ladies of the Committee our hearty thanks, and wish them still greater success in similar efforts hereafter.—*Cincinnati Christian Press.*

☞ In this connection, we would gratefully acknowledge a donation of $50 in aid of the *Liberator*, received from the Directors of the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Sewing Circle of Cincinnati. This will enable us to extend our free list, for the benefit of the cause.—*Ed. Lib.*

DANIEL FOSTER,

An Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Holden, | Friday, | Dec. 24. |
| Oakdale, | Saturday, | " 25. |
| Providence, R. I. | Thursday, | " 30. |
| Coventry, R. I. | Sat. eve'g and Sun. | Jan. 1 & 2. |
| East Greenwich, R. I. | Tuesday, | " 4. |
| Westerly, R. I. | Wednesday, | " 5. |
| Mystic Bridge, Conn. | Thursday, | " 6. |

In each place and neighboring villages, Mr. Foster will spend several days.

FALL RIVER.

An Anti-Slavery Convention will be held at Fall River, on Saturday evening and Sunday next, Dec. 25th and 26th, commencing on Saturday evening, at 7 o'clock.

Stephen S. Foster and Charles Lenox Remond will be present. For further particulars, see local bills.

DIED—In Lynn, Dec. 10, Mrs. HARRIET E., wife of Dr. ADDISON DAVIS, aged 22 years.


## An Edition for the Million.

### UNCLE TOM'S CABIN FOR 37 1-2 CTS

WE have yielded to the repeated and earnest solicitations of numerous friends of humanity, and now offer to them and to the public generally—TO THE LIVING MASSES—an edition of Mrs. Stow's unrivalled work at a price so low as to bring it within the means of every person. It seems a work of supererogation to speak in complimentary terms of a book,

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of which have been printed, in this country and in Europe, in a little more than six months,—a sale which has no counterpart in the world's history. Yet, notwithstanding this immense sale, there are hundreds of thousands in our own country who have not yet perused the glowing pages of UNCLE TOM'S CABIN, many of whom have been prevented from doing so, from inability to purchase. To remove this obstacle, we have issued this edition

☞ *FOR THE MILLION.* ☜

And millions will now read it, and own it, and drink in its heavenly principles, and the living generations of men will imbibe its noble sentiments, and generations yet unborn will rise up and bless its author, and thank the God of Heaven for inspiring a noble woman to utter such glowing, burning truths, for the redemption of the oppressed millions of our race.

To Booksellers, Philanthropists, or Societies, who wish to purchase the above by the thousand, for sale or distribution, a liberal discount will be made. The edition is very neatly printed in a large octavo pamphlet of 166 pages, double columns, thick paper covers, and firmly stitched. We now offer to the public the following editions:—

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| Cloth, full gilt, | 3 50 |
| Extra Turkey, full gilt, | 5 00 |

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P. S.—MRS. STOWE IS NOW PREPARING, and in a few days will offer to the public,

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Being a complete refutation of some charges which have been made against her on account of alleged overstatements of facts in Uncle Tom. It will make a pamphlet of about 100 pages, double columns, and will present original facts and documents, most thoroughly establishing the truth of every statement in her book. Price 25 cts.

Dec. 3 5tis

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JOHN P. JEWETT & CO., *BOSTON,*

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This work is intended by the reverend and talented author to fill a place too much neglected in the Gift Book literature of our country, viz. the RELIGIOUS DEPARTMENT. He has presented a Picture of Heaven, drawn with graphic power and eloquence from Scripture emblems. BILLINGS has illustrated it with FIVE ORIGINAL DESIGNS, engraved on steel, which we hesitate not to say have never been excelled, even by the exquisite pencil of Billings himself. In paper, printing and binding, we intend it shall be as near faultless as possible. In one volume 8vo. Price,

## POETRY.

For the Liberator.

### THE FUGITIVE AT PLYMOUTH.

Now thanks to thee,
Most faithful friend, most kind, protecting night—
Whose mantle dark full oft has sheltered me
From human sight.

Sweet moon, thee too
I thank, but most that blessed guiding Star,
Whose cheering ray, my weary journey through,
Streamed from afar.

A long farewell
I bid ye now, foul fetters, whips and brands—
He fears ye not, who, far from Slavery's hell,
Securely stands.

How light and free
I bound along upon this sacred shore!
What joy! that I a fettered slave shall be
No more, no more!

I hither came,
To bathe me in this consecrated sea—
Receive its baptism in the holy name
Of Liberty.

For Liberty
Once o'er these waters cast her spell, and gave
Them power from Slavery's blighting touch to free
The meanest slave.

Now let me lay
My head upon this sacred rock—before me
Stretches the ocean—come and dash your spray,
Ye white waves, o'er me!

Full is the air
Of spirit forms of those, who laid their bones—
Their martyr lives being spent—to moulder there,
'Neath yonder stones.

How sweet, to sleep
In freedom from the chains that long have bound me!
How sweet to feel that forms angelic keep
Their watch around me!

* * * * * *

'Was it a horrid dream, or did I hear
The dreaded voice of my old master near?'

'I hope your sleep was pleasant; for, perhaps,
No leisure now you'll have for taking naps.
You seem in doubt; these friendly lashes take,
To make yourself quite sure that you're awake!
You cannot well have all your thrashing now,
Some devilish nigger may get up a row;
But, once our far off cotton fields in view,
You'll get the whole, and that with interest too;
Out of your flesh and blood I'll have the cost
Of all this wasted time and money lost.'

'One moment stop, just cast your eyes around,
We're treading upon consecrated ground!
These are the very waves which proudly bore
The Pilgrim Fathers to this distant shore;
This sacred rock received their wandering feet,
On yonder burying-hill their graves you'll meet;
Their spirits even now are hovering near,
There surely cannot breathe but freemen here.'

'There cannot? then you'll have to hold your breath,
For you are mine, mine only unto death;
Mine own, to serve me when and where I will;
Mine own, to scourge, to torture, and to kill.
Should this still doubtful to your mind appear,
One blow from this good stick will make all clear.'

'Sons of the Pilgrims, now to you I turn.'

'You turn in vain, and that you soon will learn.
The hours are short and few that they'll be taking,
From building churches, and from money making,
And these they spend in decking the old graves:—
What time have they to waste in helping slaves?
Their fathers did good deeds enough of yore,
What need have *they*, forsooth, of doing more?'

'Genius of Liberty, I look to thee
For aid, in this my great extremity.'

'O simple fool and stupid, not to know
That Liberty was banished long ago!
Banished I'm certain, cannot say but dead,
And Slavery now governs in her stead;
Who, just to make them easy in the traces,
One day a year at their disposal places,
Wherein to tell each other they are free,
And shout aloud the praise of Liberty.
Whom will you call on next? Please be in haste,
No time have I in parleying to waste."

'If there's a God in heaven, on *him* I call,
For he who marks the little sparrow's fall,
Will, from his lofty throne, my misery see,
And from this evil will deliver me.'

'There *is* a God in heaven; but his command
No longer is regarded in the land;
The Devil is king, and reigns triumphant here,
With Slavery for his prime minister.
He, to be sure, will always gladly lend
A hand, in time of need, to help a friend;
But this is just his busiest time—I fear
You'd find it very hard to get his ear;
Besides the debts he owes, of small amount,
To those with whom he keeps a cash account,
Whole droves of politicians, now, are handing
Him their heavy bills of four years' standing;
Favors to favorites now must be accorded,
And they who've served him best be best rewarded.
Whose aid can now deliver you from evil,
Since none can come from God, or man, or Devil?'

Then stood he up, that simple slave, and lowly,
Then stood he up, upon that rock so holy;
Before him, restless, tossed the darkening waves—
Above, loomed up the hill of many graves—
Before, dark clouds drove swift across the sky,
The rising wind, in gusts, swept furious by;
Then spoke he thus: 'There's yet one other friend,
Who'll ne'er refuse deliverance to send.'
And, sudden springing upwards high in air,
He uttered one loud cry of wild despair,
nen, swiftly falling, in the waves beneath
e found that *other friend* he sought—'twas Death!

* * * * * *

Nature now all her forces seemed to call,
To help her mourn at this grand funeral:
The sorrowing moon and stars from sight were flown,
And poured their tears in drenching torrents down;
The heaving sea sent forth its dismal moans,
From earth and air came dying shrieks and groans;
For every wind of heaven had, wailing, come
To chant the dying hero's requiem.
And now, with rapid strides, across the sea
A dreadful phantom seemed approaching me;
O'ercome with fright, I started with a scream—
Oh, joy! to wake, and find it all a dream.

S****** HOLMES.

For the Liberator.

### SUNNY THOUGHTS FOR GLOOMY DAYS.

BY LUCY A. COLBY.

The bright and beautiful days are gone,
And the wintry hours creep sadly on,
And instead of the whip-poor-will's voice in the vale,
We hear the rush of the angry gale;
The brooks have forgotten the dreamy tune
They sang in the balmy hours of June,
The fir-trees are hoary with ice and snow,
And the marmot and rabbit lie far below,
Warm-housed from the Winter's cold.

Now gather we close round the fire-side bright,
And glad our hearts with the dear delight
Of the joys which in brighter and lovelier hours
Were nursed by the sunshine and falling showers:
For the world without is a solitude,
And its only voice is the North wind rude,
And the lustreless sun sheds warmish gleams,
Like the eye of a cyclop filmed with dreams,
Asleep in his rock-built fold.

And flowers are culled on the upland slope—
Sweet emblems of purity, love and hope—
Bright weeds upheaved by the restless sea,
And mosses torn from many a tree,
And many a rock all dripping with wet,
Are ours to gladden and cheer us yet,
And they bring back thoughts of the pleasant Past,
Till our hearts with a joy are beating fast,
That could not be bought with gold!

# The Liberator.

### TO MEAT EATERS, &c. &c. &c.

BY PROF. GUILLAUME H. TALBOT.

As to the cruelty which the practice of meat eating occasions, is it not horrid to seize, for instance, a poor little lamb, and with the same hand from which it would lick its food, slowly and deeply plunge a knife into its throat, and there hold it and turn it to widen the wound, and plunge the knife deeper again, and cut anew the poor victim alive, all the while increasing the wretched suffering of the inoffensive animal, till it has bled to the last drop; and the object of all this butchering process to satisfy an artificial appetite for flesh! If poor, harmless animals are to be sacrificed to it, they should at least be guillotined, instead of cruelly subjected, as they are, to a lingering death.

I am well aware that to speak thus of the sufferings of dumb animals will seem ridiculous to many; but such might find the sentiments a little less ridiculous, were they once themselves tickled by the Indian's scalping knife. They might then learn that to be cut up alive is not altogether so indifferent.

But why should not animals deserve pity? Does man alone deserve it? Then what extra title has he to it? Perhaps his Nero-like tyranny over all creation! But some may be tempted to answer—'His virtues and dignity.' In that case, to make the answer valid, *cease* to call man every one that has a human form, for only then will the title be worth any thing; and to grant that title with due reference to the actual state of one's mind is more in conformity both with good sense and the Bible narration of man's origin; for it was evidently the mind, not the body, that God created in his image. Then, the actual state of one's mind is the test by which to identify him as a man. If any one objects to that test, let him take the Scripture narration into account, and if he believes that God created man in His image, would he dare, without reflecting unjustly on the Creator, to call MAN this or that living human form, whose conduct and inclinations have a preponderance to the Satanic? O! let HIM rather be called man who tries to cultivate what resemblance he has to his Maker! To encourage him in his noble pursuit, we would point out on whom to bestow his love and admiration, to the great God of the universe; or, directing his vision, among the countless marvels of creation, but to the glories of a moon-starry night, exclaim, 'Child of God! lift up thy head, and look to the heavens!'

But what? Child of God? Yes, child of God! And there is thy title of nobility, O man; a true title of nobility; not assumed ambitiously, sustained unworthily, proclaimed with boast and hypocrisy, and believed foolishly, but written in heavenly records, sustained by self-victories and the performance of duty, proclaimed by thy mind's genealogy, and believed from evidence. Compared with it, let kingly titles sink to their own level. May you, O citizens of this glorious Union, aim at no less than to be men; seek that title as your chosen dignity, and conquer virtue for a republican crown!

But, apologizing for this digression, we return to our subject. Let us first divest ourselves of the impression made by custom and habit, and then consider, independently of those and just as it is, the inexpressible amount of acute suffering *uselessly* inflicted on a part of the living creation. If you have ever received a severe wound or bruise, how much did you not, at that moment, abhor suffering! You would have felt very unwilling, then, to inflict it; and admit that your estimation, *at the time*, of the injustice of causing it wilfully, and of the pressing importance of preventing it, was the right kind of estimation, because you were then cognizant of the true nature of the case, what would you then have thought of subjecting millions of harmless animals to excruciating pains, and that simply to satisfy an artificial appetite?

The poor lamb is not the only animal tormented to satisfy that carniverous desire, but any other, clean or unclean—and the very hog itself—is accepted to gratify Monsieur Human-being's palate.

To improve on the custom of meat eating, it is not an uncommon thing to eat it even half raw, so that, like a wild beast's, the palate may be tickled with blood; and if the consumer be of a certain class of people, (who sometimes call themselves smart,) his smartness and speed at table will point him out, at least, as an even match for a peculiar quadruped. His speed and smartness may be yet further increased by a delicate dish called mince pie,—an inviting amalgamation of sugar and chopped flesh.

I do not intend to offend any one, and it is surely better to tell of mistakes than to have them pass unnoticed, and suffer their evil results. Tartar formation, loose teeth, decay, impure breath, and even worse, all belong to meat eaters, and they deserve them all. Now, to speak plainly, were it but to purify his breath, more than one married man should find, in the superior effects of a vegetable diet, much inducement to adopt it, if he were true to those professions of consideration, care, devotedness and respect which he probably lavished on his better half before she became his own; but it seems that those great vows are not always the true dictates of a warm heart and philosophical mind, the combined agency of which would be the most reliable guaranty of their fulfilment. And yet, should every lady be pitied whose pretended submissive and devoted lover has been transformed into an inattentive husband?—for ladies seem to forget rather easily, that all that glitters is not gold, and, whether they are all foremost in distinguishing true from false merit, we would not assert. It is possible, too, that if some of them are deluded by a dazzling show, it is no more than being taken in their own trap: but all that does not exculpate the selfish man who would take advantage of woman's confiding heart to win her affections by a temporary display of refinement and affected superior qualities, of which the true source in him may be as dry as his soul, is well replenished with hypocrisy. But enough of this, for it begins to sound like gossip, and gossip is such a poor favorite of ours, that we would as well talk about the weather: although, as the following stanzas have nothing to do with either, and are a capital illustration, we will use them to close this digression:—

### THE FLATTERER.

FROM THE GERMAN.

The spider sits and spins alone,
And sings meanwhile, in humming tone,
Tra; la, la, la; la, la, la; la, la, la!

So fine he spun, so long he spun,
And hummed, 'O, when my thread is done!'

He hangs his house with curtains neat,
And then midway he takes his seat.

Thus to a wandering Fly he said:
'Come see the curtains I have made.

'O! nearer come, thou charming Fly,
And let me see that diamond eye!

'Those charming wings, so bright and clear,
O! let me view them still more near!'

The Fly more near, and nearer drew,
Till he his arms around her threw.

'O! welcome, dear!' was still his song,
'My threads are fine, my threads are strong.'

He bound her with his threads so fine,
Then, humming, down he sat to dine.

In vain for pity cries poor Fly,
'Tis now too late, she there must die!

And whilst ascend her cries and groans,
Sir Spider's song blends with her moans.

Be sure you do not come too nigh,
When flatterers praise your diamond eye.

A very common objection against a vegetable diet is, that meat is necessary to the strength of the body, and also enables it to bear the weather in a cold climate. But the spirit of that objection springs too directly either from ignorance or from a mere excuse for refusing to improve and continuing to gratify a depraved taste, that we should take little pains to refute it; therefore we would answer, as all objections of that kind should be answered, Prove it to be so! If by science and experience, the use of meat is shown to be attended with many injurious effects, and a vegetable diet to be perfectly healthy, (when a gradual transition is made,) it should lead to a pretty sure guess that the latter promises also to impair no one's strength; and, other things being equal, we have more confidence in health as a protection against cold, than in meat, or drugs, or any thing else. We would suggest, against the rigor of climates, another expedient also: brave the weather, and go through life with *a cool head and a warm heart;* and, like a genuine heart, as long as it can move, let it never get cold.

There are some persons, however, who, having eaten meat all their lives, suddenly give it up, feel unwell, and then say that they know from their own experience that they could not do without it. We heard of a literary institution where the students, having listened to a lecture on the subject, concluded unanimously that they would no more use meat, and consequently, for one whole month, it did not appear on the table. Before the expiration of the time, however, they began to complain of their state of health; and at last injudiciously concluded anew that they would not dispense with animal food. It would be surprising, indeed, if such a thorough and sudden transition to a different kind of diet did not make any one unwell.

But the greatest objection to giving up the use of meat is the one which springs from the powerful opposition of the senses to the dictates of the mind, and, in this case, to give up what is deemed a source of enjoyment, meat being agreeable to the taste.

O, senses! senses! traitors to human happiness, how long shall you aid to deceive and persecute the mind! And yet, O thou evil being, or whatever thou art! O mysterious influence, whose evil agency and power over the mind are through our senses, should we reproach thee? Thou hast caused and causest, it is true, by the numerous and multiplying effects of thy evil deeds, long, and great, and numerous sufferings to the human mind; yet, should we reproach thee? For not as a persecutor, indeed, shouldst thou be looked upon, but as an agency of retributive justice; yea, of justice against that weak, self-debasing and degenerated mind, which, rather than to assert its majestic, imperial rights, will become a tool to thy power, a slave to thee, and, alas! a servant to the senses. And yet, is not the mind from God?—Was it not destined to reign? to rule its corporeal empire, and to derive, as the results of a well regulated domination, a pure and heavenly pleasure? But if it will abdicate its throne, and fly to thee for enjoyment, if it will become a subject of the senses, destined to serve them, then let it bear the consequences; and continue thou, O mysterious influence, punishing justice, continue to enslave and tyrannize! Will not the mind, perchance, roused to a sense of shame and urged by misery, combat to assert its rights and regain its heavenly calm and happiness, which it should, in honor, accept but from the hands of Victory; and then, triumphant, let it exclaim, '*Senses, obey! I, the mind, should command!*' And it will find, by experience, that self-empire is a source of happiness. Look around you, O friends! question the human race; or rather, question your own experience, and declare if contentment ever sprang from a triumph of the senses over the mind.

And now, I have endeavored to present you some inducements towards a reform which I think would be conducive to your interest. Will you not give it some moments' consideration? And unless you can back out with some radical objection, should you refuse to give it at least a trial? Do you love reform? do you love improvement? do you love good, and do you detest evil? Then combine with those who have the same spirit, to let them hail that day when the flesh-devouring practice, with its concomitant evils, shall give way before one more triumph of good sense. Will not soon shine the day which shall witness that one more advance towards human refinement—the day when the direct and indirect unavoidable influence of a wide-spread evil will have been removed, as another stumbling-block, and its cruelty have ceased to disgrace human agency; when those of our race who stand unfortunately prominent in that agency (the butchers) will be known but as a class that were, and, to tell of such a joyful disappearance, none remain but Haynau—butcher for ever, according to the order of his blood-soaked brain, and the appointment of his royal master?

As connected with this subject, allow me to recommend also, and above all, the *practice of Reason*—the grand source of all enjoyment. La Raison! O, la chère et bien-aimée Raison! who will tell her power? who will picture her beauty? who will comprehend her loveliness? Bright daughter of heaven! O that we could rear thee a throne in every heart! Divine attribute! when wilt thou bless the human heart at large? Then shall man be lovely, and love his fellowman. Thou art all lovely and powerful, O Reason! and let that one despise thee who can trace *one* evil which thou couldst not remove; for if he can trace that evil, then the Giver of Reason must be less powerful than his great enemy.

O God, source and dispenser of all noble attributes! from our inmost heart we ask *one* blessing—that we cherish, search and follow Wisdom!

### REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE N. E. SCHOOL OF DESIGN FOR WOMEN.

A year has passed since the formation of the Society for establishing a 'NEW ENGLAND SCHOOL OF DESIGN FOR WOMEN,' and the Committee to whom was entrusted the care of carrying into execution the object of the Society are now prepared to report the result of that year's experience.

The idea of this School was first suggested by the success of a similar institution in Philadelphia. The results there obtained were so encouraging as to lead to the belief that a school would be equally successful in Boston, where the manufacturing arts are at least of equal, if not of greater importance.

To extend the sphere of employment for women, by opening to them a new and profitable occupation, fitted to develop their minds and talents, was the first object which the founders of this institution proposed. To aid the manufactures of the country, by furnishing new and valuable designs for all fabrics to which design is applicable, is a hardly less important purpose, intimately connected with the former; while the elevation of taste, through a more thorough study of nature, and a more skilful use of forms and colors, is a result so inevitable from the means employed to ensure success in our other aims, as to render our enterprise as interesting to the artist as to the manufacturer and philanthropist.

The Committee have endeavored to keep these three aims steadily in view, and the experience of the year is such as to confirm them in their most sanguine expectations of the good which may be accomplished in the future. The large pecuniary assistance furnished at the outset by manufacturers, proves their sense of the importance of the project, and more extended inquiries show the almost unlimited demand which exists for designs in various styles. So rapidly have the manufactures of New England increased, that it is difficult for the fancy to keep pace with them. As Dr. Franklin's mother regretted that her son should enter the over-crowded business of printing, because there was already one newspaper in America, so, many ask now, 'Will not a very few designers soon overstock the market?' We would mention, in answer to this question, that one single house in Boston employs four designers constantly, sending two fresh designs to their mills every day. When we remember the immense amount of printed calicoes and lawns, mousselaine de laines, ginghams, shawls, table-cloths, paper hangings, oil cloth for floor and car linings, coach lace, &c., which are constantly manufactured, and whose value is greatly dependant on the excellence of the design, to say nothing of designs for furniture, china and glass ware, jewelry, stucco work, iron railings and ornaments, we see that in fitting a woman for a designer, we ensure to her an ample field and a sure reward for talent and industry.

But our efforts have not been entirely confined to designs for manufactures. The kindred branch of engraving has received a due share of attention, and the great and increasing demand for both lithographic prints and wood engravings, have stimulated us to exertions for giving a full opportunity to those pupils who show an inclination for these occupations.

Neither have we been disappointed in the talent of New England women. Of the many pupils who have wished to enter the school, very few have been rejected on trial as being deficient in that degree of native power, which, with perseverance under good tuition, gives a fair promise of success.

The School was opened on the seventh of October, 1851, at a room over Warren St. Chapel, with seven pupils. Mr. Wm. J. Whitaker was engaged as teacher. It was shortly after removed to the hall in Thorndike's Building, Summer St., which afforded space for about seventy pupils. This has been the average number for the greater part of the year. Several months were devoted to a thorough course of elementary instruction in linear drawing. This was followed by drawing from nature and from casts, and by painting in India ink and water colors.

In January, Miss Jane M. Clark was engaged as an assistant teacher of elementary drawing, and in April, Mr. Albert S. Bellows took the place of Mr. Whitaker as head teacher of the School. Instruction in botany was given to all the pupils by Miss Fanny A. Parsons, and a course of five lectures on the same subject delivered by Rev. John L. Russell.

The condition of the School during the last term, which closed July 30th, was as follows:—

Owing to the extreme heat of the weather, the attendance at School was less regular than in the winter, the whole number of pupils belonging to the School being sixty-three. Of these, the first class, consisting of about twenty pupils, had been in the School from eight to ten months. Thirteen of this number were employed, under the direction of Mr. Bellows, in designing for calicoes and de laines, paper hangings, car linings, &c. Some of these designs had been purchased. Manufacturers and designers who have visited the School, express the opinion that the ability and skill shown in these designs, as well as their practical character, prove that abundant talent exists in this line among our country women, and that the true means have been adopted to develop it. Two of the most promising of the class have been engaged in the designing department of the Lowell Mills. Three of these pupils were practising Lithography, under the instruction of Mr. Bellows. Three were engraving on wood, under the direction of Messrs. Baker and Smith. The illustrations of Brown's Almanac and Pocket Book, from the designs of Mr. Billings, were executed by them. In both these departments, work has been produced which has commanded the approbation of the best judges, and these pupils all give promise of becoming excellent artists.

The other classes were in various stages of elementary preparation. They are fully equal in talent and industry to the first class, and having the advantage of the experience gained since the opening of the School, will probably be even better prepared to enter the higher departments.

While the Committee feel that the success that has thus far been attained is fully equal to any expectations they had formed, they wish neither to over-estimate, nor allow others to over-estimate, what has been accomplished. They do not suppose that a few months' instruction can make an accomplished artist in any branch. It is comparatively easy to produce a few designs, but unless native ability is seconded by thorough and long-continued instruction, commonplace and mannerism in design, poverty and want of originality in invention, and final disappointment, will be the inevitable result. A natural impatience on the part of the pupils for speedy results has been one of the greatest difficulties the Committee have had to struggle with. Few persons have an adequate notion of the extended knowledge, accurate training, and long practice that are requisite to ensure success as a designer; but keeping this high standard in view, and looking continually forward to greater excellence, they yet believe, that after a few months' instruction, it will be possible for a large portion of the pupils to contribute to their own support.

The Committee propose to continue the School on a similar plan for the following year; not having been able to receive all the applicants for instruction during the past year, they have engaged rooms adjoining their former one in Thorndike's Building, sufficient to accommodate at least a hundred pupils, with the necessary arrangements also for engraving and designing. The plan of instruction is as follows:

All the pupils, on entering, will devote several months to a thorough elementary course of outline geometric drawing, followed by drawing from nature and casts, instructions in botany, &c., until the pupils themselves and their instructors can judge of their capacities for higher branches. They will then select the peculiar department they wish to enter, and follow a course of instruction especially adapted to it. In their present instructors, the Committee have thus far found their hopes fully realized; they propose to retain them, and to procure the best practical talent in the specific branches which the means placed at their disposal will allow.

Up to this time, the training of the pupils has been altogether elementary, but the School begins to be in a position to advertise for undertaking work of various kinds—such as wood engraving and lithography, designing for paper hangings, car linings, table cloths, and other manufactures; and the best instruction that can be procured will be given in designing for calicoes and de laines, the most important and difficult branches. The demand for this labor is very great, and constantly increasing; the only problem is to educate artists who can meet it.

The Committee ask of the public a renewal and increase of the subscriptions of the first year up to the amount which the Treasurer's report shows to be necessary. They invite, also, the co-operation of manufacturers, publishers, and all other persons interested in the subject, in giving them work, and furnishing them with information in regard to their special branches of art.

Among the most pleasant incidents of the year was a visit from Mrs. Anne Hill, the accomplished principal of the Philadelphia School. Her interest in the New England School, and her account of her own labors, were very encouraging to the pupils, and she gave the Committee much valuable information.—They feel that they, as well as all interested in the cause of art and employment for women, are sharers in the great loss sustained by the Philadelphia school in her sudden and terrible death. They trust that the warm friendly feeling existing between these kindred institutions will long continue, and prove a constant source of mutual benefit.

The Committee would also express their thanks to those friends who have given or loaned to the School, flowers, books, casts, engravings and patterns of manufactured goods, as well as to the proprietors of the Boston Athenæum, of the Dusseldorf Gallery, and of the Shipwrecked Mother, for the opportunity afforded their pupils of visiting these interesting exhibitions. These things are very necessary in developing the taste, 'for the greater is one's acquaintance with works of art, the greater is his power of originating them,' and the Committee would not otherwise have been able to procure them.

With most cheering augury for the future, the Committee submit the report of the year to the Directors of the Society. They have necessarily encountered many difficulties in an enterprise so new, but they feel that the great point is proved, viz.: that abundant talent for designing exists among New England women, and they need only a fair chance and good instruction to compete successfully with any in the world. They trust it is not necessary to urge that an enterprise which seems to them so important, promising so well and now on its trial, should not, at this point, be suffered to languish for lack of means, and the earnest hopes of many be disappointed.

EDNAH D. LITTLEHALE,
*Secretary for the Committee.*

☞ The following article from the Boston *Courier* shows that *Kossuth* gained nothing by his endeavors to propitiate the pro slavery spirit in this country:—

### THE QUIET HORSE.

Kossuth is enjoying his elbow chair in very quiet style in the neighborhood of London. Those who expected him to plunge, sword in hand, into the bowels of the Austrian empire, will have the satisfaction, or mortification, of knowing that he is much too wise to do any such thing, and that he is likely to keep out of harm's way for the rest of his life. In fact, he makes no secret of avowing that he thinks it quite useless to make any more such fuss as he has been enacting. The holders of Hungarian bonds will pardon us—or *not* pardon us—for suspecting that the business does not *pay* as it did at the beginning, and that this is no small crook in the lot of Mr. Kossuth. It is very amusing to hear him,—fresh from his financiering operations in this country.—despising that dirty stuff—gold. He was requested, on a recent occasion, to make a speech at a meeting of the 'Reform League' in London. The following is a part of the letter which he wrote in reply:—

'I beg leave to decline the honor of addressing your's, or any other meeting in England publicly, and beg to be left, under the protection of your country's laws, to my noiseless, but not idle, privacy; more useful, I dare say, to the legitimate cause of European Democracy, than any time-absorbing shower of words could be. Sir, I have done with oratory. As to the present state of European Democracy, I say it is best not to talk much about it. 'There is no good fowling by beating the drum.'

Kossuth has reversed the practice of the countryman in the fable who, having flung grass without effect at the thief in the apple tree, proceeded to try 'what virtue there is in stones.' The Hungarian orator, having flung words about him without raising a bayonet, proceeds to try what virtue there is in saying nothing. He cannot disguise his spleen at the English and Irish because they mind their own affairs, instead of running after madcap projects of intervention:—

'We see Ireland going over to America, and thousands and thousands from England and Scotland to Australia, for the sake of a handful of gold dust. England has never experienced such a dearth of political activity as I see at the present.

* * * * * *

'Put to us in one scale all the hidden gold of Australia, and all the comfort and luxury of your palaces, and in another scale a most laborious existence in our free fatherland, we will scorn your gold, your comfort and luxury, and take "freedom."'

This is pretty well for a man who bagged ninety thousand dollars in a speech-making tour in the United States. It is very clear that he does not 'scorn your gold' enough to give it back again, notwithstanding 'the present state of European Democracy.'

*Census of South Carolina for* 1850.—The following statistics relative to the State of South Carolina, show the number of slaves in the State to be 10,520 greater than the white population, and 1,669 greater than the combined white and free colored population:

| | |
|---|---|
| White population, | 297,703 |
| Free colored, | 8,854 |
| Slaves, | 378,223 |
| **Total population of the State,** | **654,777** |
| Deaths during the year, | 7,482 |
| Farms in cultivation, | 27,808 |
| Dwellings in the State, | 51,450 |
| Families in the State, | 51,739 |
| Runaway slaves during 1850, | 14 |
| Manumitted during 1850, | 2 |
| Manufacturing establishments producing five hundred dollars and upwards, | 1,439 |

*A Singular Slave.*—It appears that the application of the Laws of New York, in letting the Lemmon slaves go free, attracts some attention down South, though when our friends in that quarter hear of the good price the owner got for them, they will probably cease to worry. As it is, we are told that one Mr. Tamanus, who was about going from Maryland to California, taking his 'nigger' with him, became alarmed at these new views of justice, and after he got to Baltimore, determined to send the man back. The journal from which we derive this interesting information, adds that the man was very reluctant to go, preferring much to come this way, as his master had intended at first. Strange negro, that!—*N. Y. Tribune.*

*New York and Virginia.*—The Richmond *Whig* publishes statistical tables showing the extent of the foreign trade of Virginia, compared with New York, on which it remarks:—

'The above tables show that Virginia has regularly decreased, while New York has increased. Thus the import trade of New York has gradually increased from about $840,000 in 1769, and from three millions of dollars in 1791, to the enormous sum of *fifty-seven millions of dollars* in 1832! While Virginia has fallen off in her import trade, from *two and a half millions of dollars* in 1791, to $375,000 in 1829—$550,000 in 1832—not a great deal more than the freight of half a dozen ships.'

☞ Talking of old patriots, John P. Hale stated in a recent speech, that he received a letter from Commodore Stewart, the hero of the great naval battle between the Constitution and Guerriere, just after his nomination, thanking him for accepting it, and declaring that the only hope of the country, as any more a land of *Liberty*, was now in the Free Democracy. Wonder whether 'Old Ironsides' ever 'knew the meaning or felt the power of patriotism!'—*Commonwealth.*

☞ Our government lands cost one dollar an acre, on an average, and champagne two dollars a bottle. How many a man dies landless, who, during his life, has swallowed a fertile township, trees and all!

*Webster Testimonial.* We learn from the Courier, that over fifteen thousand dollars have been subscribed in this city, for a monument to Mr. Webster, and that the Committee who have the matter in charge, will probably decide to erect a statue in some suitable place.

*An Appropriate Prayer.*—The following conclusion of a prayer by Rev. E. G. Wood, in the Indiana Legislature, we commend to all Christians who have occasion to remember the Legislature of this State at the throne of Divine Grace. A more appropriate and acceptable prayer could hardly be offered:

'And the Lord have mercy on our legislators. Spare their lives until they may return to their homes, and then put it into the hearts of the people to keep them there, and return men of temperate habits and sentiments, who will do some good.'

☞ There is a woman residing in the Hordogne, in France, who is quite active at the age of 114 years. She has witnessed the following governments:—Louis XV., Louis XVI., the Republic, Napoleon's, Louis XVIII., the Hundred Days, the 2d Restoration Charles X., Louis Philippe, and the present Republic


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For further information, apply personally, or by post, to W. BEACH, M. D., at the Marlboro' House, Reform College, Oct., 1852.

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*Present Pastor of the Olneyville Church.*

A BOOK, with the above title, will be issued about the first of January, 1853. It will contain a fine steel engraved Likeness of Mr. CHENEY, and about 460 pages 12mo. of letter press; and, besides other matter, will embrace full and specific accounts of his life and labors, copious extracts from his Autobiography, numerous Sketches and Sermons, Addresses, Essays, Speeches, &c., on a great variety of occasions and subjects: also, selections from the discourses and testimonials occasioned by his death.

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The above Work is published by the heirs of Mr. CHENEY, according to a provision in his will; and they have appointed DAVID R. WHITTEMORE to act as Agent in securing subscribers for the work, to whom applications for it are to be made.

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*For the great merits of this picture, we would refer to every lover of Washington to the portrait itself, to be seen in the office of this paper, and to the letters of the following Artists, Statesmen, Jurists and Scholars accompanying it.*

ARTISTS.—Marchant and Elliott, of New York. Chester Harding, of Boston; Chas. Fraser, of Charleston, S. C.; and to the adopted son of Washington, GEORGE WASHINGTON PARK CUSTIS, himself an artist. STATESMEN.—His Excellency Millard Fillmore, Major Gen. Winfield Scott, Hon. Geo. M. Dallas, Hon. Wm. R. King, Hon. Daniel Webster, Hon. Linn Boyd, Hon. Lewis Cass, Hon. Wm. A. Graham, Hon. John P. Kennedy, Hon. R. C. Winthrop, LL. D. JURISTS.—Hon. Roger B. Taney, Hon. John Duer, Hon. John McLean, Hon. Rufus Choate. SCHOLARS.—Chs. Folsom, Esq., the well known Librarian of the Boston Athenæum, who says, 'I would rather own a than any painted copy I have ever seen;' Edwin P. Whipple, Richard Hildreth, Hon. Edw. Everett, LL. D., Wm. H. Prescott, LL.D., Washington Irving, Ralph W. Emerson, Esq., Prof. T. C. Upham, J. G. Headley, Fitz Green Halleck, H. W. Longfellow, Wm. Gilmore Simms; and FROM EUROPE, Lord Talfourd, T. B. Macauley, Sir Archibald Alison, Lord Mayor of London, &c. &c. &c. THE PRESS throughout the entire Union have, with one voice, proclaimed the merits of this superb engraving.

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